



this noble feeling exists, in an eminent degree, in your Grace's patriotic bosom, the British army has uniformly felt, and with the utmost gratitude acknowledges.

S

As an additional proof, if proofs are necessary, of your Grace's generous condescension, is the permission which I now enjoy of subscribing myself, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT

AND DEVOTED

HUMBLE SERVANT,

London,  
March 31st, 1789.

INNES MUNRO.





## P R E F A C E.

*As I presume to lay the following Letters before the Public, upon a subject of such importance as the detail of our Military Operations in India during the last war, I might probably be accused of affectation, in endeavouring to avail myself of the common-place, though, in this instance, very just apology, of their not having been originally intended for the press. In those hours of relaxation from public duty, which in a camp are too generally devoted to injurious excesses, it was my usual occupation and favourite amusement to mark down, in the form of a journal, the occurrences of the army in which I served. These I afterwards compressed into the compass of a letter, for the information of my friends in Europe; which I transmitted to them as opportunity served. Motives, which I should feel a pleasure in avowing, added to pressing solicitations, have induced me to suit them, to the best of my ability, for the public eye; but as few officers, like*

a

the

55

*the immortal general of the Romans, are blest with the talent of describing the battles in which they have been engaged, I trust that the following detail will be perused with impartiality and candour.*

*It has appeared to me that an authentic detail of the operations of our armies in India, particularly of that in the Carnatic, which was the principal seat of war, is in some measure necessary. Partial accounts have appeared; but any that has yet come within my observation seems to have had more in view the panegyric or abuse of the civil government and particular governors, than an impartial and candid statement of the military services. The following pages have, I trust, at least impartiality to recommend them. They consist of a narrative, written under the immediate impressions which the different occurrences at the moment excited; and I hope it will be found that they are divested of all prejudices unbecoming a person who undertakes a plain relation of facts.*

*Excepting in one instance, the events which I narrate are arranged in exact chronological order. As the letter which contains the sketch of the Marratta war was compiled from the casual information which I could myself receive in India, and partly from the accounts of it which have appeared in Europe, I have taken the liberty, that I might not afterwards break the chain of military operations, to bring*

*it*

A  
N A R R A T I V E  
OF THE  
M I L I T A R Y O P E R A T I O N S  
ON THE  
C O R O M A N D E L C O A S T, &c.



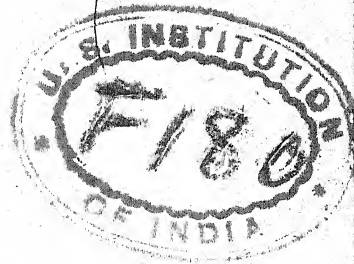
A LOOTY-WALLAH CHACE.

[Entered at Stationers Hall.]



OLD COLLECTION

Not to be taken out



A

NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
MILITARY OPERATIONS,  
ON THE  
COROMANDEL COAST,  
AGAINST THE COMBINED FORCES OF THE  
FRENCH, DUTCH, and HYDERALLYCAWN,  
FROM THE YEAR 1780 TO THE PEACE IN 1784;  
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

IN WHICH ARE INCLUDED

MANY USEFUL CAUTIONS TO YOUNG GENTLEMEN DESTINED FOR INDIA;  
A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EAST  
INDIANS; AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A VIEW OF PORT LOUIS IN THE ISLE OF FRANCE;  
AND CORRECT PLANS, UPON A LARGE SCALE, OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AT  
TRINQUAMALLEE,  
AND OF ALL THE BATTLES FOUGHT BY THE ARMY UNDER LIEUTENANT-GENERAL  
SIR EYRE COOTE, K. B. AND OTHER COMMANDERS, DURING THAT WAR.

By INNES MUNRO, ESQUIRE,  
Captain in the late 73d or Lord Macleod's Regiment of Highlanders.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY T. BENSLEY;  
AND SOLD BY G. NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL.

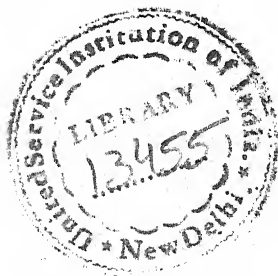
M,DCC,LXXXIX.

1789

OLD COLLECTION

Not to be taken out





✓

TO

HIS Grace the DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND,  
Esq. Esq. Esq.

MY LORD,

WHILE I express my consciousness  
that your Grace's patronage is the best recommendation  
which this Volume can have with a People who vene-  
rate the name of NORTHUMBERLAND, permit me at  
the same time to give vent to my gratitude for the  
generous condescension by which that illustrious title  
now graces my page.

To

To you, my Lord, a Soldier has a kind of prescriptive right to address himself. The name of PERCY has not been more distinguished in the annals of Fame for military prowess than for the exercise of every humane and social virtue. How well the dignified and lineal reputation for both has been supported by your Grace it is unnecessary for me to represent. To the former the plains of America bear witness, and the latter has been amply attested by the grateful panegyric of every soldier that served under your command.

A witness yourself of the fate of our arms in the Western hemisphere, it may not be uninteresting to you to trace their exertions in the East. Whilst fighting the battles of the same gracious Sovereign, (though in the opposite quarters of the globe) there is, in the breast of every worthy soldier, a generous sensibility which secretly attaches him to those of his profession. That  
this

*it down to a conclusion, before I enter into the detail of incidents prior to it in point of date. The sketch (for I mean it as nothing more), which I have given of that war, I conceived as necessary—it marks, in glaring colours, the principles and conduct of a Company of Merchants extending their views from the drudgery of traffic to the the unbounded aim of universal empire.*

*It was not my intention, when I formed the resolution of submitting the following letters to general perusal, that they should be the vehicle of party rancour or unmanly malignity. I speak of men and measures from the impulse of the heart, and I trust it will not be found that I have widely erred in my opinions. I have not presumed to enter deeply into the mazes of politics: I considered such digressions as foreign to my work, and I felt them in an equal degree repugnant to my feelings.*

*For the accuracy of the plans I will freely pledge myself—they are done from faithful surveys made after the close of the battles which they represent; the scale and the different positions and evolutions of the respective armies are therefore delineated with a critical exactness.*

*For the hints which I have taken the liberty of giving to young gentlemen about to embark for India, I trust that their evident utility*

*will sufficiently plead my excuse. No voyager to that distant climate (so far as I have been able to ascertain) has had the generosity to caution succeeding adventurers against the inconveniences to which he himself may have been subjected from the want of previous salutary counsel; if, therefore, the few observations which I have ventured to make upon that subject should prove of use to any individual, I shall feel myself amply gratified.*

*The letter which I have subjoined to my Narrative respecting the Isle of France, I have a pleasure in avowing to have been dictated by the most patriotic sentiments; I am not without hopes that the hints which I have thrown out in it for the conquest of that island may hereafter attract attention, and lay the foundation for an important and valuable acquisition to the British crown. The perfect practicability of it I have endeavoured to demonstrate; and I am confident that my ideas upon the subject, however sanguine they may appear, are not merely chimerical.*

## CONTENTS.



C O N T E N T S.

---

LETTER I. Page 1.

ACCOUNT of a secret expedition under Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. in 1779—of the island of Madeira.

LETTER II. P. 6.

Description of the Cape Town—manners and customs of the Dutch—Sir Edward Hughes sails for Madras—Sketch of the voyage to India.

LETTER III. P. 16.

Madras described—the objects which first strike a stranger with surprise—the artifice of the dubashes—debarkation of Lord Macleod's highlanders—description of the fortifications of Fort St. George—the Company's officers—military appearance and discipline of the black officers and sepoy—Indian conveyances—manners and customs of the European residents and of the Indians—diffimulation and villany of the dubashes—their laws—cautions to strangers—expense of the retinue of servants usually supported by a gentleman at Madras—curious anecdote of the dubashes.

LETTER



LETTER IV. P. 31.

Of the white ants—the musk-rat—reptiles—vermin—ravenous animals—  
of the feathered creation—of fowling, &c.

LETTER V. P. 41.

Information for strangers when they arrive at Madras—advice to gentlemen preparing for an India voyage—of Indian taylors—anecdote of one—barbers, &c.—of the Indian women—zenanas—account of those females who associate with Europeans—their offspring considered.

LETTER VI. P. 52.

Style of a great entertainment at Madras—the hooker—provisions and European liquors—manners and customs of the European ladies—of a lady upon her arrival—serious advice to fair adventurers for India—buildings upon Choultry-plain—the Black-Town—the sea-breeze—a certain ceremony amongst the Indians.

LETTER VII. P. 62.

The Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn and his two sons—physicians and surgeons—disorders most common amongst the Europeans—physical system of the Indians—their excessive indolence—faquiers—conjurors—manner of building a pagoda—swamy—mechanical genius of the Indians—reformation in their religion—stature and appearance of the East Indians.

LETTER

L E T T E R VIII. P. 73.

Indian feasts—dancing girls—of burning the dead—theft—face of the country—the banian-tree and others—verdure—population—manufactures—agriculture—choultries.

L E T T E R IX. P. 84.

Horses and horse-jockies—elephants and camels—effects of the hot land-winds—review of the seventy-third regiment—reflections upon the climate—terms upon which the king's troops are to serve in India—the coins and exchange of money in India—state of the Company's pay to their troops at Madras—rumour of a war with Hyder Ally Cawn.

L E T T E R X. P. 99.

War in the Carnatic—a view of the Company's policy from their first establishment—sketch of the Marratta war.

L E T T E R XI. P. 119.

Traits of Hyder Ally's character and policy—confederacy of the Indian princes—war with France—Pondicherry taken by Sir Hector Munro, K. B.—supposed origin of the Carnatic war—Hyder Ally's invasion—state of his army—his success—first horrors of war.

C A M P A I G N

C A M P A I G N of 1780.

L E T T E R XII. P. 137.

The British army assembles—disputes in the Council—march of the army—battle of Polliloo—defeat of Lieutenant-colonel Baillie's detachment—their sufferings—retreat of the main army to Madras—Hyder reduces Arcot—consternation of the Council—the Commander in Chief, Sir Eyre Coote, K. B., with liberal supplies from Bengal, comes to head the army—revolution in the Council—Tippo Sahib proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic.

L E T T E R XIII. P. 178.

The singular manner in which an Eastern army is assembled for war—the order and mode of Oriental marching.

C A M P A I G N of 1781.

L E T T E R XIV. P. 205.

Operations of the army—battle of Porto Nova—junction of a Bengal detachment—the army formed into brigades—an army collected in the Tanjore country—Lord Macartney arrives—Dutch war—battle of Polliloo—battle of Sholangur—Colonel Owen's attack—Negapatnam taken by Sir Hector Munro—The army moves into cantonments.

C A M P A I G N

C A M P A I G N of 1782.

L E T T E R XV. P. 263.

Operations of the army—it is attacked upon the 13th of January—arrival of Commodore Alms—diversion upon the Malabar coast by Colonel Humberston Mackenzie—French armament arrives upon the Coromandel coast, under Monsieur Suffrein—naval engagement on the 17th of February—Colonel Brathwaite defeated—French troops land and join Tippo Sahib before Cuddalore—second naval action on the 12th of April—Suffrein sends his English prisoners to Hyder Ally—battle of Arnè—Marratta peace concluded—third naval engagement on the 6th of July—Trinquamaltee taken by the French—fourth naval engagement on the 3d of September—expedition against Cuddalore frustrated—command of the army devolves on Major-general Stuart—hurricane and famine at Madras—the army cantoned—Sir Edward Hughes departs for Bombay—arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton—Colonel Humberston Mackenzie's expedition against Poligatcherry—Hyder Ally's death—Tippo Sahib proclaimed Nabob and Generalissimo of the Misore army..

C A M P A I G N of 1783.

L E T T E R XVI. P. 304.

Suffrein's manoeuvres in the absence of Sir Edward Hughes—the English destroy Carangooly and Vandewash—diversion made by General Mathews upon the Malabar coast—Tippo evacuates the Carnatic and defeats Mathews—movements of the southern and northern armies at

b.

that



that period—the main army returns to Madras—rumour of peace in Europe—Sir Edward Hughes returns from Bombay—a reinforcement of troops arrives from England—death of General Sir Eyre Coote—siege of Cuddalore—our attack upon the French lines on the 13th of June—fifth naval engagement—advices from Europe of a general peace—a cessation of hostilities with the French—the southern army being reinforced takes Poligatcherry, &c.—the main army retires to Madras—faction at the Presidency—his Majesty's officers disgraced, particularly Major-generals Stuart and Burgoyne—mutinous state of the army in consequence thereof—overtures made for a peace with Tippo Sahib.

#### L E T T E R XVII. P. 347.

Cessation of hostilities with Tippo Sahib—distresses of the garrison of Mangalore—a deputation sent to Tippo Sahib—reduction of Cannonore by Major-general Macleod—movement of the main army—peace concluded with Tippo Sahib at Mangalore—release of the British prisoners—terms of the Treaty of Peace—mutiny of four regiments of cavalry—execution of the ring-leaders—relation of the sufferings of the prisoners—observations upon the conduct of the war—injurious treatment of the troops—estimate of expenses—hardships under which the army laboured at the conclusion of the war.

#### L E T T E R XVIII. P. 380.

The author arrives at the Isle of France—some account of it—description of the fortifications—plan for an attack upon the island—conclusion.

L I S T

## LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

### A

JAMES Abernethy, Esq.  
 Edward Addison, Esq.  
 William Adair, Esq.  
 W. E. Agar, Esq. Commissioner of His  
 Majesty's Customs  
 Grant Allan, Esq.  
 James Allan, Esq.  
 J. Allan, Esq.  
 David Anderson, Esq. of St. Germain's  
 Samuel Anderson, Esq. Banker, Edinburgh  
 James Anderson, Esq. Clerkinton  
 William Anderson, Esq.  
 John Anderson, Esq.  
 James Anderson, Esq.  
 Philip Antrobus, Esq.  
 Edward Antrobus, Esq.  
 John Auldjo, Esq.  
 John Ayton, Esq.  
 Lieutenant Archer, 16th Dragoons  
 Cornet Anfon, ditto

### B

John Bates, Esq. Commissioner of His  
 Majesty's Customs  
 John Barnes, Esq.

Robert Baigrie, Esq.  
 J. Beveridge, Esq.  
 Francis Bennett, Esq.  
 Alexander Begbie, Esq.  
 Colonel William Blair, Honourable East  
 India Company's Service  
 Colonel R. Blane, ditto  
 Thomas Boon, Esq. Commissioner of His  
 Majesty's Customs  
 Captain Bourne, Guernsey  
 John Bowman, Esq.  
 Alexander Brodie, Esq. M. P. 2 copies  
 Robert Bristow, Esq.  
 Charles Brewer, Esq.  
 N. Burnell, Esq.  
 John Buchanan, Esq.  
 Captain Bedford, Oxford Blues  
 Adam Blackadder, Esq.  
 Captain Boyce, 16th Dragoons  
 David Boyne, Esq.  
 Robert Bogle, Esq. Glasgow  
 John Bogle, Esq. ditto

### C

Alexander Cairncross, Esq.  
 John Carvick, Esq.



# SUBSCRIBERS:

Philip de Carteret, sen. Esq. Jersey  
 Captain J. H. Campbell, Fulmer  
 Henry Callender, Esq.  
 Captain Carmichael, 16th Dragoons  
 William Chapman, Esq.  
 W. F. Chapman, Esq.  
 Matthew La Cloch, Esq. Jersey  
 Peter Clark, Esq.  
 Captain J. Le Couteur, 100th Regiment,  
 Jersey  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Craig, 16th Regiment  
 of Foot  
 Samuel Crowley, Esq.  
 Thomas Cope, Esq.  
 Thomas Coutts, Esq.  
 Hugh O'Connor, Esq.  
 Robert Cowie, Esq.  
 Thomas Corbyn, Esq.  
 Captain Gordon, Clunes  
 James Crookshanks, Esq. Jamaica  
 John Crookshanks, Esq. ditto

## D

The Right Honourable Henry Dundas,  
 Treasurer of the Navy, 2 copies  
 Robert Dundas, of Arncliffe, Esq. Solicitor  
 General for Scotland  
 Duncan Davidson, of Tulloch, Esq.  
 Henry Davidson, Esq.  
 C. Davison, Esq.  
 James Dick, Esq.  
 Captain Alexander Dirom, 52d Regiment  
 F. H. Duboulay, Esq.  
 John Dumaresq, Esq. Jersey  
 William Dunbar, Esq.  
 James Dunbar, LL. D. King's College,  
 Aberdeen

T. Dowdeswell, Esq. Worcestershire  
 Cornet Deering, 16th Dragoons

## E

Lieutenant Colonel H. K. Erskine, 21st  
 Regiment  
 Colonel Elliot, Bengal Artillery  
 Captain J. Eveleigh, Royal Engineers  
 T. F. Ellis, Esq.  
 John Elmslie, Esq.

## F

The Right Honourable Lord Fielding  
 The Right Honourable Lord Forbes  
 Honourable James Forbes, Coldstream  
 Guards  
 Honourable John Forbes, General of  
 Marines  
 Sir William Forbes. Bart. of Pittligo  
 Brigadier-General J. Forbes, Portugal  
 Arthur Forbes, of Culloden, Esq.  
 James Forbes, Esq. Hatton Hall, Essex  
 Lieutenant Benjamin Forbes, 75th Regi-  
 ment  
 Lieutenant-Governor Fall, Jersey  
 John Fraser, of Achnigairn, Esq.  
 William Fullarton, of Fullarton, Esq. M. P.  
 William Forsyth, Esq.  
 J. Forsyth, Esq.  
 James Ferrier, Esq.

## G

Her Grace the Dutchess of Gordon  
 Major Gardener, 16th Dragoons  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Graham, 16th  
 Regiment of Foot, 2 copies  
 Lieutenant-

# SUBSCRIBERS.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Graham,<br>42d Regiment          | William Hamilton, Esq.  |
| Major James Graham, 37th Regiment                           | Colonel Charles Hopkins, Honourable East<br>India Company's Service |
| Major Dundas Graham, Scotch Brigades                        | Major John Henderson, ditto   |
| Alexander Graham, Esq. British Consul at<br>Fayal, 2 copies | Alexander Cuthbert, Esq.  |
| Charles Graham, Esq. Fenchurch Build-<br>ings, 5 copies     | — Holmes Esq. Tottenham   |
| Charles Graham, Esq. ditto                                  | Edward Holme, Esq.  |
| George Graham, Esq. ditto                                   | Alexander Hogg, Esq.  |
| George Graham, Esq. Sackville Street                        | J   |
| John Graham, Esq. Berkeley Square                           | William Jackson, Esq.   |
| John Graham, Esq. Fenchurch Buildings                       | Thomas Jamefon, Esq.  |
| Mrs. Graham, ditto  | Neel Jamefon, Esq.  |
| Miss Lucy Graham, ditto                                     | John Jardin, Esq.   |
| Miss J. Graham, Drynie                                      | James Jopp, Esq.  |
| Miss A. Graham, ditto                                       | James Innes, Esq.   |
| Major-General Benjamin Gordon                               | William Inglis, Esq. Inverness                                      |
| Captain Gordon, 16th Regiment of Foot                       | Griffith Jones, Esq.  |
| Lieutenant Price Gordon, Marines                            | K   |
| Ensign Robert Gordon, 60th Regiment                         | Sir Richard King  |
| Thomas Gillies, Esq.  | Lieutenant Kennedy, 16th Regiment of<br>Foot                        |
| William Gemmel, Esq.  | John Kenworthy, Esq.  |
| G. Gascoyne, Esq.   | L   |
| Bartlet Goodrich, Esq.                                      | The Honourable John Lindsay, 71st Re-<br>giment                     |
| Daniel Gavey, Esq.  | Sir Robert Lawrie, Bart. M. P.                                      |
| Lieutenant Gun, 72d Regiment                                | Henry Lisle, Esq.   |
| George Glenny, Esq.   | William Lawson, Esq. Dumfries                                       |
| H   | John Lennox, Esq.   |
| The Right Honourable Lord Hawke                             | A. Laughnan, Esq.   |
| The Honourable Major-General W. Har-<br>court               | George Lickie, Esq.   |
| William Hay, Esq. Commissioner of His<br>Majesty's Customs  | John Learmonth, Esq.  |
| Edward Hooper, Esq. ditto                                   | M   |
| John Hay, Esq. Banker, Edinburgh                            | The Right Honourable Major-General<br>Lord Macleod, 2 copies        |
| Captain Charles Hughes, Royal Navy                          |   |
| Captain John Hamilton, late 73d Regiment                    |   |

The

# SUBSCRIBERS.

The Right Honourable Lady Macleod  
 Sir William Murray, of Ochtertyre, Bart.  
 Sir John Macpherfon, Bart. *3 copies*  
 Sir Hugh Munro, of Fowlis, Bart. *5 copies*  
 Major-General Sir Hector Munro, K. B.  
 and M. P. *7 copies*  
 Sir Alexander Munro, Commissioner of  
 His Majesty's Customs  
 Duncan Munro, of Culcairn, Esq.  
 Major George Munro, Inverness  
 Major James Munro, *5 copies*  
 Lieutenant George Munro, 16th Dragoons  
 Hugh Munro, of Teninich, Esq.  
 George Munro, Esq. London, *2 copies*  
 George Gun Munro, of Poyntzfield, Esq.  
 George Munro, of Culrain, Esq.  
 John Spence Munro, Esq. Glasgow  
 George Munro, Esq. Sheriff of Lewes  
 Gustavus Munro, Esq.  
 David Munro, Esq. Mississippi  
 Simon Munro, Esq. Inverness  
 F. H. Mackenzie, of Seaforth, Esq.  
 Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie,  
 72d Regiment  
 Captain Alexander Mackenzie, 71st Regi-  
 ment  
 Captain Simon Mackenzie, Royal Navy  
 Captain C. B. Mackenzie, 26th Regiment  
 Captain K. Mackenzie, Greenwich  
 Charles Mackenzie, of Kilcoey, Esq.  
 Colin Mackenzie, Esq. South Lambeth  
 Colin Mackenzie, Esq. Sun Court  
 Colin Mackenzie, Esq. London Coffee-  
 House, *2 copies*  
 John Mackenzie, Esq. Bishopsgate  
 John Mackenzie, Esq. Temple  
 John Mackenzie, Esq. Bow Church  
 Roderick Mackenzie, Esq. Soho Square,  
*10 copies*

Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq. Argyle Street  
 Kennett Mackenzie, Esq. Sun Court  
 George Mackenzie, Esq. Tower Street  
 John Mackenzie, Esq. Gruinard  
 Lieutenant John Mackenzie, 72d Regi-  
 ment  
 Duncan Mackenzie, Esq.  
 Donald Macleod, of Geanes, Esq. Sheriff  
 of Ross  
 George Mackintosh, Esq.  
 Alexander Mackintosh, Esq. *3 copies*  
 John Maitland, Esq.  
 Alexander Maitland, Esq.  
 Robert Milligan, Esq.  
 Thomas Macghe, Esq.  
 Captain P. Melvill, Guernsey  
 Captain Mac Crae, ditto  
 Colonel Allan Macpherfon, Honourable  
 East India Company's Service  
 Captain J. Macintire, ditto  
 Captain Aeneas Mackay, ditto  
 Richard Moree, Esq.  
 The Reverend Alexander M'Adam, D. D.  
 Nigg  
 Matthew Miller, Esq.  
 Captain Andrew Mitchell, Royal Navy  
 Captain Charles Mitchell, of the William  
 Pitt East Indiaman  
 Lieut. John Mackay, late 77th Regiment  
 — Meingey, Esq. Guernsey  
 James Mure, Esq.  
 Alexander Maconochy, Esq. Advocate,  
 Edinburgh  
 Robert Scott Moncrieff, Esq. Banker,  
 Glasgow  
 Kenneth Murchison, Esq. *2 copies*  
 N  
 His Grace the Duke of Northumberland  
 Lieutenant



# SUBSCRIBERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel Nicols, 45th Regiment  
M. Nafmyth, Esq.

## O

John Ogilvie, Esq.  
Edward Ogle, Esq. 2 copies  
Captain Samuel Orr, Dragoons

## P

The Honourable — Pole  
Colonel Popham, Honourable East India  
Company's Service  
Ensign Pasley, 16th Regiment of Foot  
J. D. Porcher, Esq. Madras  
John Owen Parr, Esq.  
Thomas Pinkerton, Esq.

## R

The Right Honourable Lord Rawdon  
Sir George Ramfay, Bart.  
Major-General Charles Rofs  
William Rofs, of Shandwick, Esq. 4 copies  
Alexander Rofs, of Cromarty, Esq.  
Mrs. Rofs, Tarlagy, 2 copies  
Lieutenant John Rofs, late 75th Regiment  
William Rowe, Esq. Commissioner of His  
Majesty's Customs  
James Richardson, Esq.  
Joseph Rodgers, Esq.  
Lieutenant Rodgers, Honourable East India  
Company's Service  
Forrester Rose, Esq.  
William Robertson, Esq. Kindeace

## S

The Earl of Shaftesbury  
Sir John Sinclair, of Ulbster, Bart.

## 5

Lieutenant-Colonel Small  
Major George Sutherland  
Lieutenant George Sutherland, 71st Re-  
giment  
Sullivan Sutherland, Esq. Jamaica  
Captain Saumareys, Royal Navy, Guernsey  
Dr. Saumareys, Guernsey  
William Stiles, Esq. Commissioner of His  
Majesty's Customs  
Major John Scott, M. P.  
David Scott, Esq. Glasgow  
William Scott, Esq.  
Captain Skinner, 16th Regiment of Foot  
Lieutenant Spence, ditto  
Lieutenant Smollett, 16th Dragoons  
Charles Steers, Esq.  
James Steers, Esq.  
Mark Sprot, Esq.  
John Stokes, Esq.  
Edward Smith, Esq.  
John Spalding, Esq.  
Hugh Squair, Esq. 2 copies  
Cornet Starkey, 16th Dragoons

## T

Richard Trewen, Esq. Commissioner of  
His Majesty's Customs  
John Taylor, Esq. 2 copies  
Thomas Trower, Esq.  
Matthew Towgood, Esq.  
John Towgood, Esq.  
Christopher Terry, Esq.  
D. Thompson, Esq. Guernsey  
H. Thompson, Esq.  
C. Turner, Esq.  
Daniel Tipper, Esq. Guernsey

## U

David Urquhart, of Brealangwal, Esq.  
Walter

# S U B S C R I B E R S.

Walter Urquhart, Esq.  
Mrs. Urquhart, Cecil Sreet

V

Captain D. Vallancy, 46th Regiment

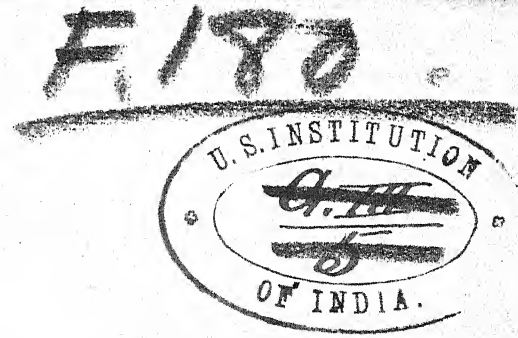
W

Captain T. L. Wheeler

Lieutenant Wilkinson, of the Marines  
Captain Wood  
Doctor Walters, Guernsey  
George Wade, Esq.  
William Watfon, Esq.  
Thomas Woodman, Esq.  
Edward Warner, Esq.  
William Wynch, Esq.

## E R R A T A.

Page	Line	
19	2	<i>from the bottom, for it is read it was.</i>
150	3	<i>from the bottom, for as Sir Hector himself were read as Sir Hector himself was.</i>
235	2	<i>from the top, for Lieutenant-colonel Blair read Blanc</i>
247	10	<i>from the top, for Pollar read Pollam.</i>
285	11	<i>from the top, for get to possession read get possession.</i>



# A NARRATIVE, &c.

---

## LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 1779.

THE pleasure of commencing that agreeable correspondence which we mutually resolved upon when parting at Portsmouth is at last arrived; and, since you have insisted upon my sending you the earliest intimation of whatever might appear interesting in the course of my perigrinations, I now seize, with joy, the present opportunity of transmitting to you my first remarks upon our secret expedition under Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

This squadron, with the ships under convoy, took their departure from Portsmouth on the 7th of March 1779, gliding through the bay of Biscay in good order; and, after sailing about three weeks

B

in



in a southerly course, reached the island of Madeira, and anchored in Funchall bay.

I was much delighted with the magnificent scenery and picturesque appearance of this place. The Portuguese seem to discover a taste of antiquity in the choice of their habitations, these being generally situated upon the most conspicuous eminences, whence dashing cataracts descend in various forms, and feast the eye with a pleasing variety.

Funchall is the metropolis of the island. It is situated in the recess of a semicircular bay, about a mile in diameter, and naturally defended at both extremities by rocky precipices, upon which strong breastworks and heavy guns are placed; being only accessible at one narrow sandy space in the centre, upon which a heavy surge incessantly beats. The town is irregularly built, but contains many good houses, and has one large square in the centre, which is the only level space in its vicinity.

The hills rise gradually from behind; and upon the most commanding of them is erected a strong mud fort, which overlooks the town. Upon the sides of those lofty mountains, the tops of which are generally covered with clouds, are magnificent monasteries and nunneries, with villas and vineyards interspersed; the whole affording a most delightful prospect from the bay.

The

The character of the natives here exactly corresponds with that usually given of the Portuguese nation, but the English who reside in the town are lavish of their civilities to all strangers indiscriminately; for a foreign vessel or fleet no sooner arrives than they vie with each other who shall shew them the greatest attention; laying their houses and tables publicly open to the whole, and entertaining them sumptuously.

Here the churches, like most catholic places of worship, appear well stored with riches. A handsome theatre has lately been built, but good dramatic performers are very scarce.

The governor was so much taken with the appearance of our soldiers, that he obtained permission from Sir Edward Hughes to land two companies of Highland and Welsh grenadiers, that he might see them go through their evolutions in the grand square, where the Portuguese soldiers were drawn up as spectators. Our troops were handsomely dressed, and went through their manoeuvres, firings and evolutions, with uncommon activity and steadiness. A well conducted charge finished the review, which had afforded universal satisfaction and delight; and the officers and soldiers were afterwards handsomely entertained by the governor.

They experience in this place, at particular seasons of the year, a prodigiously disagreeable hot wind, which blows from the coast

of Africa; and, although it crosses a great tract of the Atlantic, yet is its violence so severely felt in this island as frequently to split the furniture and wainscoting in the houses. These winds are often attended by violent storms of thunder and lightning, one of which struck our whole fleet with consternation whilst in Funchall bay, and obliged many of the ships to put to sea in the night-time, for fear of being driven on the rocks.

Having been a month at this island, Sir Edward proceeded upon his voyage, and, passing through the Canary isles, arrived upon the coast of Senegal. When the fleet had come in sight of Cape de Verd, a signal was made for all captains of men of war, and others, to repair on board the admiral's ship for instructions. The *pregnant mountain* was now truly delivered of a *mouse*, and the mysterious secret revealed by orders to prepare for the attack of *Goree!* an unimportant fortified island belonging to the French, but commanding the entrance of the river Gambia on the African coast.

We were no sooner in sight of the rock and flag-staff of Goree, than the flat-bottomed boats were got ready, and the ships of war, with the whole squadron, fell into a line of battle. Trunks, hencoops, beds, &c. were now thrown overboard to clear for action, and each ship was allotted her station in the attack; some covering the land-forces, who were to make a descent, whilst the bombs and ships of war were to deal destruction around, and a great carnage

nage was of course expected. Thus the whole fleet made a splendid entrance into Goree bay, when a flag of truce was sent ashore in form to demand a surrender of this important garrison. The event which followed was truly laughable—the whole place was found abandoned to one poor French fusileer, who, upon our appearance, had hoisted an old *table-cloth* upon the flag-staff of the fort; and followed the rest of his companions to the continent, proceeding to the attack of Senegal, having first precipitated all the serviceable guns of Goree over the rocks into the sea.

After making the necessary arrangements, and landing on this little island about three hundred of the 75th or Welsh Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Rooke, Sir Edward Hughes proceeded, with the squadron and Indiamen under his command, to this place, (the Cape of Good Hope), where we arrived rather in a sickly condition. It is hoped, however, that the troops and seamen will speedily recover from the fatigues of the voyage, our present situation being in a temperate climate, where we are plentifully supplied with all kinds of fresh provisions and vegetables. I add no more, but that we are certainly destined for the East Indies, where I hope that I shall frequently hear from you. Adieu.

LETTER



## LETTER II.

Madras, February 1780.

HAVING now arrived at the place of our destination I think it incumbent upon me not to let this opportunity slip without sending you a few lines of observation upon the latter part of this tedious voyage.

Our Squadron refreshed at the Cape of Good Hope nearly three months, in order to restore health to the sick, and to avoid the dangers of the Coromandel coast at an unseasonable time of the year. During this interval the June fleet from England joined us, and put themselves under the command of Sir Edward Hughes.

The Cape town is an agreeable place, beautifully situated in a verdant valley, environed by prodigiously high hills, rising almost perpendicularly from behind the town, and adding uncommon magnificence to the general aspect. The highest hill, called the *Table Land*, rises 3353 feet from the base. It is quite flat on the top, and derives its name from having generally hovering

5

over



over it a sheet of fog, which, in a calm day, falls down upon each side in the form of a table-cloth. When this appears, the natives say 'The devil has covered his table,' as it is an infallible sign of an approaching gale of wind from the land. The next, 2095 feet in height, is the *Sugar Loaf*, which bears upon its top a signal-flag and two guns; as does the *Lion's Rump*, a third hill, 1102 feet high.

The town is large and very regularly built, the streets being at right angles. Through each of them runs a small rivulet; and in the centre is a spacious square, which serves for the market-place. Adjoining to the town are the Dutch Company's gardens, to which ladies and gentlemen resort in the cool of the evening to faunter through beautiful arbours and rural walks laid out with exquisite taste. There is also situated at the upper extremity a *menagerie*, containing a curious collection of all the wild beasts and birds of Africa.

At the north end of the town is erected a small mud fort, and all along the sea-beach breastworks and heavy batteries are also constructed at proper distances. These, however, are only formidable in name, for the Dutch have very few troops to defend the settlement, 500 regulars being the whole establishment; and as for the militia, they are not only contemptible soldiers, but so  
scattered

scattered over the country as to be incapable of ever rendering effectual service. There is no doubt that this place, in its present state of defence, might become an easy acquisition to a very considerable force. Even the troops in our squadron could have put it, at the time we were there, into the possession of Great Britain with little or no loss; nor do I believe the inhabitants would have disliked the change, for, from what I could learn, their liberty is much cramped by the Dutch.

I have seen no place in the course of my travels where people seem to enjoy so much domestic comfort as in this. Having but few opportunities of spending money, none aspire to great wealth, nor are there any miserably poor. Happily for them, the phlegmatic disposition of their mother-country renders their ideas, and consequently their wants, so few, that they are contented with, and never look for more than, a moderate competency. It were fortunate for some of our countrymen, if, *en passant* to the East Indies, they took a few lessons of moderation from the contented inhabitants of the Cape.

During our stay here we made frequent excursions into the country, and were every where treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness. The place which most attracted my attention was the vineyard of *Constantia*, from which, you know, is produced

duced an exquisite wine, held in great estimation in Europe. I am now well assured that the annual produce of this farm would not be equal, in seven years, to one year's consumption of a wine sold under that appellation even in Britain. It is pleasantly situated on the east side of the Table Land, near the road leading to *Falſe Bay*, and is a general receptacle for the amusement of all foreigners.

The system here for the treatment of strangers differs widely from that practised in the island of Madeira. The Hollander thinks it no degradation from the character of a gentleman, upon the arrival of any foreign vessel, to convert part of his house into a tavern. By this means the stranger is instantly accommodated with bed, board, and washing, for the reasonable sum of *one rix-dollar* per day. The places more particularly allotted for the purposes of entertainment are the billiard and dancing houses, which, among the Dutch, are the scenes of their most favourite amusements. Most of their slaves are good musicians, so that dancing is quite common in every house. Their tables abound with provisions and fruits of the most excellent quality; neatness and cleanliness universally prevail, and they are obliging in the greatest degree. Both English and French are spoken by most of the natives with fluency. This was the first place in which I had ever seen large tureens of hot fat broth and roasted legs of mutton presented at supper.

The sheep of this place are of a very peculiar species. The mutton is as large as in England, and equally good; but their large flat tails, entirely one lump of fat, are sometimes so long as to trail upon the ground, and weigh twelve or thirteen pounds. Bullocks are here rendered very serviceable, being early accustomed to harness. Four or six of them, yoked in a team, will continue to canter, with the same spirit as horses, for twelve or fifteen miles at a time. They have also an excellent breed of hardy little horses.

The Dutch soldiers make a pretty good appearance upon the parade, but fall greatly short, in alertness, of French or British troops. Upon our arrival here we found about two hundred convalescent French soldiers and officers. These good-humoured fellows were one day very roughly and ill treated, in the Company's gardens, by some of our drunken tars who had come on shore for water. You may easily imagine that *Jack* was in the wrong, but he could not withstand the opportunity of *having a knock at the French*.

I must not omit mentioning the extraordinary warfare carried on against this town by the baboons and monkeys, inhabitants of the Table Land. The accounts of it are, doubtless, exaggerated; but, as I have been informed, not entirely destitute of foundation.

Those



Those mountaineers are so jealous of an invasion of their territories, that, when any person attempts to mount the Table Land, parties of them are found ready at every narrow defile to oppose the assailant, on whom they roll down stones, or throw them with such dexterity, that often recourse to fire arms is necessary before they can be dispersed. It is affirmed that baboons have been known to overpower and ravish the slave women, who have gone thither to procure wood for fuel. At other times they assemble during the night in numerous bodies, and, under appointed leaders, make frequent incursions to rob the town gardens. On these expeditions they march down the hill in regular Indian files, with an advanced guard, and out-scouts that keep a watchful eye over the enemy; and they are disposed in such a manner, that when the van enters the garden the rear extends to the hill. Having posted their sentinels, the leading monkey mounts the tree, plucks the fruit, and chucks it to his neighbour. By this mode of conveyance from one to another, along the whole line, it reaches the rear-guard at the hill, to whose charge the whole is intrusted until they sound the retreat, which is never done before they have acquired a good store, unless it happens that they are suddenly surprised by the inhabitants. In such a case they instantly retreat, with a general screech or war-hoop, to the hills and inaccessible rocks, where they regale themselves upon their plunder in perfect security.



Towards the end of October Sir Edward Hughes took his leave of the Cape of Good Hope. It was generally expected that an attempt would now be made upon the isle of France; but the admiral, in pursuance of limited orders, proceeded by the outward passage to Madras, where the whole fleet safely arrived in the end of January 1780.

Nothing but harmony, good-humour, and a mutual exchange of politeness, are wanted to make an India voyage a most agreeable party of pleasure. Unless it be for a week or a fortnight, that, sometimes, in the bay of Biscay, or off the Cape of Good Hope, the India ships meet with a gale of wind, in which, however, danger is seldom to be apprehended, the rest of the voyage, though long and tedious, is nevertheless, in many respects, extremely agreeable.

In this, as in many other conveyances of the same nature, particular attention is shewn to the accommodation of those who pay an handsome price for it; and too often, for that purpose, encroachments are made upon the rights of young writers and cadets, whose inexperience in the world submits them to the impositions of selfish design. Though they are entitled to a place in the great cabin, yet their ignorance and complaisance frequently induce them to content themselves with a berth in any bye-corner of the ship.

The

The entertainment on board is far superior to what one would expect; nor do they want for amusements to pass away the time. Some play at cards, others backgammon—a third takes up a book, whilst a fourth party runs over a few duets upon the violin and flute. When those become tiresome, great diversion is found in fishing, and in striking albigores, sharks, and dolphins; or in firing balls at birds, particularly the *albitrofs*, a large species of the swan, commonly seen within two or three hundred miles round the Cape of Good Hope, and which the French call *Montons du Cap*. This fowl is so tame as sometimes to be hooked from the stern windows, but it is of no use for the table. When birds are not to be seen, then a cask or some other object is towed a-stern for the purpose of practising the gun. In the evenings, particularly when the moon shines bright, which in the warm climates is enchanting beyond description, the *catgut scraper* (for he seldom aspires to the eminence or appellation of a violin-player) is turned upon deck, and all hands set to dancing. If ladies happen to be on board, country-dances are often performed to admiration upon the quarter-deck. From habit, the motion of the ship becomes wholly imperceptible, though, perhaps, in the trade-winds, she goes at the rate of five or six miles an hour; nor is it uncommon in those delightful latitudes for the ship to continue her course for three or four weeks successively, without altering the position of her sails.

What

What is most to be dreaded in the course of these voyages is the scurvy, or the fatal prevalence of some epidemical distemper. The former, unfortunately, was too common amongst us, notwithstanding every precaution to prevent it; and this leads me to conclude that it was occasioned by the men being too much fed upon animal food, without a necessary proportion of the vegetable acid. Seamen or soldiers should never upon a voyage get as much, at one time, of salt beef or pork as they can eat. I am thoroughly convinced \* that meat of all kinds should be sparingly dealt out to them, and abundance of vegetables given in its place, such as potatoes, peas, pickled cabbage, preserved carrots and turnips, rice, barley, and plenty of onions or pumpkins; and, if apples could be preserved for that purpose, they would be a great acquisition. The men should be accustomed to use vinegar with every thing they eat, and have salt fish once or twice a-week. I should also think it adviseable for all ships to stop some days about the line, in order to catch fresh fish for the crew, which might be pickled or salted, and would answer as a change for several days. All allowances of rum or brandy should absolutely be mixed with

\* In the course of my return home from India on board of a French merchant-ship, I was thoroughly satisfied of the good effects arising from a proper regulation of diet. Their seamen were not crowded, and were fed very sparingly upon meat. Rice was dressed for them in twenty different shapes, and they got fresh bread three times a-week; being also well exercised with dancing and work: the consequence was, that we had not a sick man on board during the whole voyage.

water; and, if a little vinegar and sugar could be now and then added to make punch of it, so much the better. The men should be obliged to drink the half of their allowance whenever it is received; and I think gin a far more wholesome liquor, upon a voyage of this length, than either brandy, rum, or arrack.

The harmony subsisting in a ship, during a long voyage, greatly depends upon the discretion, prudence and good sense of the commander. Many of the captains of Indiamen, by their polite attentions, rendered this voyage so agreeable to those of our officers and men who were fortunately under their charge, that their parting at Madras was the cause of mutual regret; while others, of a more perverse and arrogant disposition, kept up, during the whole voyage, one continued scene of altercation with the king's troops on board their vessels. Those differences partly arose in consequence of proper arrangements and regulations not having been made previous to the commencement of the expedition; a neglect which, if not remedied in the future transportation of troops to this country, may prove the cause of fatal disasters; as military gentlemen will find it a difficult matter to keep the sword sheathed under such insupportable insolence.

Adieu.

LETTER



## L E T T E R III.

Pondamalee, March 1780.

HITHERTO I have only been able to send you a very superficial account of the different occurrences during my voyage from England; but, as we are now in some degree settled here, I hope to render our future correspondence more particularly interesting. In the mean time I shall endeavour to amuse you with some account of Madras, and the most remarkable customs of the Indians.

As our Squadron approached towards Madras all became inquisitive after the accommodations of the place, and the customs of its inhabitants. These the ship's officers warmly described to us in the most favourable light; but, to our great disappointment, the information we received from them afterwards proved to be more founded upon hear-say than experience. Those gentlemen seldom reside in any of the settlements above a few weeks at a time, which for the most part is spent in a dungeon (for the shops of Madras can hardly be called any thing else), setting off their private investments to the best advantage.

The



The surf upon the Coromandel coast was painted to us in such an awful light, that, when we were at anchor in Madras roads, I conceived the worst part of the voyage yet to come. Ocular demonstration, however, convinced me of its insignificance; and, upon several shores in North Britain, I have seen surges equally dangerous. What makes this appear more formidable than others of equal height is, that there are three breakers within fifty yards of each other, the last of which strikes with great force upon the beach.

We were quite deceived in our ideas of the king's barracks, and other accommodations for his Majesty's troops, which were said to be of a superior structure to any thing of the kind in England. In short, by the exaggerated accounts we received, nothing seemed wanting at Madras to complete our happiness but a little air of sharp frost, and we pleased ourselves with the reflection of coming to a country so replete with every luxury and comfort. We chide the tardy progression of our ships which prevented us from the speedy participation of such pleasures. But these, alas! proved in the end to be mere chimerical dreams.

When the ships anchored in Madras roads Masula boats came off to us, formed upon a curious construction, expressly for crossing the surf, having high sides and few timbers of thin planks sewed together with the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, which renders

D

them

them exceedingly pliant. They are frequently attended by *cattamarans*, which are no more than small rafts of three planks lashed together at both extremities and in the middle, upon which two or three expert swimmers mount, and paddle through the water with great dexterity. Those boats were filled with people of various dark complexions, dressed in robes and turbans of beautiful white muslin, having large gold earrings, set with precious stones, hanging down to their shoulders, and in their nostrils small rings of the same kind. They were also barefooted, and wore whiskers. When these natives came upon deck, most of them saluted the officers and others of the ship with the most profound respect, seeming to be old acquaintances. This was followed by a familiar conversation between the English gentlemen and Vinkiti, Rammah, Naigapah, Christnah, and others (for these were the names of the Indians), concerning the sale of British goods, which the *dubashes*\* assured them was at least *cent. per cent.* in their favour; eatables and drinkables in particular they declared 'the English gentlemen would at all times give any price for.' In the meantime, others of them were, with all the insinuation in the world, offering their services to the passengers on board, each extolling his own abilities to the skies, hinting in strong terms that his next companion was a great rogue, and giving a private and friendly caution to the gentleman with whom he spoke not to take that

\* The Indian name for a steward.

fellow

fellow into his service. Written characters were also produced, some of which were forged, and others would bear but a very slight investigation. Although they have naturally a great share of address, yet their too eager proffers of service lead one, I believe justly, to a suspicion of their sincerity. They will exclaim that ‘ they require but little wages; nay, rather than not be your ‘ dubash, they will serve you for nothing; and, if master should ‘ at any time have occasion for a little money, the dubash’s purse ‘ shall always be devoted to his convenience.’ Nothing could be better suited to the indigent circumstances of a military gentleman than a servant of this liberal disposition. By us, who were entire strangers, such offers of friendship were not to be rejected; and, deluded by specious profession, many of us were egregiously deceived. I understand it, indeed, to be the fate of most new visitors here to be sadly harassed by the tribe of dubashes; but without whom, notwithstanding their extraordinary impositions, a person would suffer great inconvenience. It is therefore prudent for a stranger to submit to the present necessity until he becomes better acquainted with the manners of the country.

All those natives have such a genteel and delicate mien, that, together with their dress, a stranger is apt to take them for women; and it is truly laughable to hear the Highlanders, under that idea, pass their remarks upon them in the Gaelic language. Only

'smoke the whiskers of that huffy,' says one. 'Well, I never supposed till now,' observed another, 'that there was any place in this world where the women wore beards.' And, upon seeing one of them who was very corpulent stalk about the deck in an unwieldy manner, a third wondered 'how she could have ventured on-board so far gone in her pregnancy.' All of them were taken for ladies of easy virtue; and it was only in attempting to use a few familiarities with them as such that the Highlanders discovered their mistake.

It being a rare sight at Madras to see Europeans in such an uncommon dress as ours, an immense concourse of people were collected upon the beach to see us land. I am certain not less than 50,000 spectators were assembled upon this occasion, and amongst the rest Hyder Ally's *vakeel* or ambassador, who did not seem to relish an augmentation to the garrison of Madras of 1000 soldiers and 45 officers.

We were now ushered into the king's barracks, so magnificently described to us on shipboard, but which are nothing better than an old brick fabric of two stories in height, much resembling a Portuguese convent. The upper story is laid out into apartments for the officers, and in the under the soldiers are accommodated, both being of a very mean appearance. The officers' rooms, the walls of which were black with dirt, had been for some time used as a granary



granary, so that rats and mice were very numerous and familiar all over the quarters. Here we had occasion to contemplate our fate in a new point of view, being left between bare walls, containing nothing but a few earthen pots or jars to boil rice in, a prey to rats, mice, and knavish dubashes, who well deserve the name of European tormentors. I must say, however, that the governor, General Monro, and several other gentlemen, shewed us great attention, and often testified their compassion, by inviting our officers to their houses while the regiment remained at Madras.

Fort St. George is the presidency of the Company's settlements on the Coromandel coast. At present Sir Thomas Rumbold holds the place of governor, and Sir Hector Munro that of commander in chief of the forces. Fort St. George is said to be the handsomest fortification in the British dominions. It is situated in a flat sandy country, and is surrounded, both naturally and artificially, by water, excepting on the side next the Black Town, which has additional outworks to it on that account. Its form is an irregular hexagon, well built; having the faces towards the sea constructed in the shape of a contracted crown-work; the curtains of which are built like the side of a ship of war, with a tier of large port-holes for heavy cannon. These are level with the water, and covered by bomb-proofs, above which the rampart is *en barbet*, with a parapet only to the flanks. All the works, even the face next to the sea, are encompassed by very handsome broad ditches, which



which are kept constantly full of clear salt water, and upon the scarps are occasionally found a supply of fine large oysters. This garrison is blessed with one of the finest fountains of fresh water in all India; and has a reservoir fit to contain twelve months allowance of it for the whole inhabitants. It is so limpid and delicious to the taste, that connoisseurs prefer drinking it pure to the pollution of its salutary qualities with a mixture of spirituous liquors.

The town is regularly built, and capable of lodging eight thousand men in time of a siege; though the present garrison seldom exceeds two hundred Europeans, and two battalions of sepoys. It is an inconvenient place for strangers, there being no taverns, nor any decent place of public accommodation; nor can the hospitality of the inhabitants be much boasted of;—they, however, gain greatly upon acquaintance. I think it would be commendable in the Company to establish a good tavern or lodging-house in Madras, if it were only for the accommodation of their own cadets upon their arrival in the country, many of whom, being destitute of both friends and acquaintances, are obliged to take up their residence in dirty punch-houses in the Black-Town, which are little better than a spunging-house in London, where they must necessarily mix with all kinds of low company, a circumstance from which disagreeable quarrels and fatal consequences frequently ensue.

The

The Company's officers have acquired just praise by their steady adherence to the duties of their profession, which the excellent order of their sepoy's clearly confirms, and which strikes every stranger with admiration and surprise. It is hardly credible, though true, that few troops in Europe cut a better appearance upon the parade; and I have been told by some veterans here, that, when led on by European officers, they behave in the field with astonishing conduct and intrepidity.

Their uniforms have a very military appearance, consisting of a red light-infantry jacket, a white waistcoat, and a blue turban placed in a soldier-like manner upon the head, edged round with tape of the same colour with the facings, and having a tassel at the lower corner. The sepoy has a long blue sash lightly girded round his loins, the end of which, passing between his legs, is fastened behind. He wears a pair of white drawers, tightly fitted, which only come half down his thigh, and, being coloured at the lower end with a blue dye, appear as if scolloped all round; a pair of sandals upon his feet, white cross belts, a firelock and bayonet, complete the sepoy's dress.

These black corps have attached to them a full complement of native as well as European officers. The former rise according to their merit from private sepoy's; and, before the most of them arrive at the rank of *subidars* or captains (for higher they do not

go), they become quite bald and grey in the service; and their hoary beards and whiskers cut a most venerable appearance at the head of a regiment. Their rank gives them no authority excepting over their own countrymen; for an European serjeant would command any of the native officers upon duty. The dress of the black officers is much the same as described above; with this difference only, that their coats are made of scarlet cloth, with tinsel epaulets, light drawers all the way down to their ankles, and a large crooked scimitar by their sides. All words of command are given in English; and each battalion has a good corps of drums and fifes.

All the Company's European officers are promoted by regular rotation; which, with the frequent opportunities they have of seeing service, gives them a vast fund of professional knowledge. They are fortunate who arrive at a company after twelve or fourteen years service, by which time, their exemplary and assiduous attention to duty and discipline renders them fit to be intrusted with the most important command. Those who have by this means distinguished themselves in the service seldom fail of being recompensed in their advanced years with some handsome appointment, by which they can with ease live comfortably all the rest of their lives. But, to speak truly, this independence is literally earned by the sweat of their brows.

Those

Those who are new to this climate are cruelly harassed in the night-time by the Musquito flies. No precaution whatever can prevent them from preying upon the ruddy cheeks of a fresh-coloured European, as they have such a particular relish for foreign blood that they will never desist from their pursuit until all the rouge is completely extracted, leaving their victim a miserable object, with his face swelled over his eyes in bumps like the small-pox, and ulcers in the legs, that with some do not close up for several months. The sting is fully as poisonous as that of a bee.

The European residents here seem to be chiefly employed in avoiding the excessive heat of the climate; and indeed it is not to be wondered at, for to me it feels intolerable. When visiting each other, it is common for people to be carried in covered beds, supported upon men's shoulders; ten or twelve being allotted to each vehicle, which is called a *palanquin*. Wheel-carriages are likewise numerous amongst the higher ranks of people. The native grandees are, for the most part, conveyed in a two-wheeled machine, covered above, and called a *hacary*. It is dragged by two or four beautiful white oxen; animals held here in such high estimation, as not only to be used for draught, but as idols of worship; and the Moorish ladies frequently ride upon them cross-legged, they being carefully trained for the purpose.



The manners of the people in this country differ so widely from those of the Europeans, that it would require a volume for the purpose of relating them fully. It seems to be an invariable maxim with all of them to prey as much as possible upon Europeans, being contented with that mode of retaliation for the conquest of their country. Children from their earliest infancy have instilled into them all the principles of dissimulation and design more carefully than those of religion; and servants have established such a system of regulations for their purposes, that it is impossible to get the better of them in any one point whatever. They actually hold regular meetings amongst themselves, headed by the most important person in each department, to determine how much per pound of meat from the market shall be imposed upon their masters; how many fanams in the pagoda shall be overcharged monthly; and what quantity of tea, sugar, and liquors, shall be allotted for their own emolument. It is however singular that in these regulations they generally pay some regard to the particular circumstances of their master; but they are, notwithstanding, universally actuated by the spirit of rapacity. Salary is no consideration with these men; nor would a servant continue a week with his master did he not see a probability of defrauding him out of at least triple his stated wages. They have likewise so settled it amongst themselves, that, should the master upon any occasion attempt to use violence towards his domestics, which sometimes

sometimes Europeans are provoked to do, he will find himself instantly abandoned; nor are any permitted to serve him until he does penance for four or five months by shifting for himself. Then, perhaps, they may be induced to shew a little lenity, and send him the most acute villain of their gang to offer his services, in order to *break in the gentleman*, as they call it, *to the customs of the country*. They are also particularly careful to inflict the severest punishments upon any one of their number who shall venture to deviate from those regulations.

The numerous band of servants that a gentleman is obliged to keep in this country occasions an immense expense in the support of a family. This establishment originates from no other cause than the political divisions of their castes, and their indolent customs, which they take every pains to make you believe are the basis of their religion. The English therefore take not any steps for the reformation of their manners, but thoughtlessly content themselves with the imposition, although it is materially repugnant to their interest. No person considers himself as comfortably accommodated without maintaining a Dubash at four pagodas per month, a Butler at three, a Peon at two, a Cook at three, a Compradore at two, and kitchen boy at one pagoda; and, as in India no man will put his hand to any business but his own, an Hairdresser and a Barber at half a pagoda each, a Washerman at

one, and an Ironer at half a pagoda, with a Tailor occasionally at three pagodas, must be had; to which add nine Palanquin boys at one and an half pagoda each, and an Horsekeeper and Grasscutter at two pagodas, and the amount for servants alone will be thirty-six pagodas, or 14l. 8s. sterling per month, without including the expenses of the horse or *zenana*. I will acknowledge to you that some of these servants are absolutely necessary in this hot climate, but I am also persuaded that many of them might be easily dispensed with. All servants here are upon board-wages, and must have a considerable part of the day allotted for their retiring to eat their victuals, unless it be the cook and boy, who, being of low casts, content themselves with the scraps in the kitchen. The others pretend to be defiled in their cast should they touch any meat that comes to the table of a Christian or European. This occasions a great waste of victuals; yet I should scruple to trust the most rigid of them in a private corner with a bottle of good claret or Madeira.

As Europeans eat any kind of meat, the Indians have been induced to rank them in the *pariar*, or lowest cast of people; and the Gentoos, or Malabars, tell you that, although they are obliged through necessity to serve us, they consider themselves of a much more dignified and gentlemanly rank in life than any European. If you should ask a common *cooly*, or porter, what cast he is of, he

he will answer "the same as master, *pariar-cast*." And should any individual of these tribes venture to deviate from the rules and restrictions prescribed by his religion, it is attended with perpetual disgrace; for a committee of his cast takes immediate cognizance of it, and if the fact be proved he is excommunicated for ever from their society and privileges.

If a black fellow should happen to drop any trifling thing upon the road as he walks along, such as an handkerchief or a piece of money, he never deigns to stoop his body to the ground, but lays hold of it betwixt his toes, and by that means conveys it up to his hand with the utmost facility. In many trades also, such as shoemakers and tailors, the toes act in union with the hands almost upon every occasion.

A gentleman of rank, who has been in this country for some time, and thoroughly understands the language and customs of the natives, related to me the following diverting anecdote of those domestics. One evening, as he passed along a narrow street in the Black Town, he was suddenly surprised by an extraordinary noise proceeding from a neighbouring house, and yet in a greater degree when he heard his own name called out aloud. Having had the curiosity upon this to peep into the window from whence the sound came, he was not a little astonished, though at the same time



time greatly diverted, to perceive a gang of dubashes amusing themselves round a table, and each assuming the name and character of his European master in the most ridiculous manner imaginable. There was not a foible that their masters possessed that had not been exhibited in the most ludicrous style; and so strongly were this same gentleman's failings represented by his own servant, particularly his austerity to those under his command, that he declared it ever afterwards made a sensible difference for the better in his conduct towards them. I think a glance at this style of mimicry might be of service to a great many gentlemen in this country, who are too apt to consider these poor creatures as only formed to be subservient to themselves.

LETTER

## LETTER IV.

Pondamalee, March 1780.

It is to be lamented that a climate so pleasing as this should so much favour the propagation of vermin. The white ant is an insect greatly dreaded in every house; and this is not to be wondered at, as the devastation it occasions is almost incredible. When a person furnishes a house the bed-posts are placed in small wooden basons filled with water, to prevent vermin, and the white ants in particular, from creeping up upon them. Trunks containing clothes, or any thing of that nature, are raised upon bottles, as the smoothness of the glass prevents the insects from climbing. It is really amusing to observe their industry, and the curious order of their different movements. They have the appearance of great business, millions of them following each other in two ranks or lines loaded with plunder, the one going and the other returning in a straight course of many yards in length, towards some particular hole where they deposit their booty: and what shews a singular instance of sagacity in these animals is, that, if any one of them should drop his load upon finding it too heavy, his next in rank comes

comes immediately to his assistance, and appears to make extraordinary exertions to help his friend in distress. I conclude them to be of the same genus with the fugar ants in the West Indies, of which the most incredible stories are recounted in natural history. If the white ants once make their way into a trunk filled with wearing apparel, they will in the course of one night render every thing entirely useless, eating immense holes in the clothes, and sometimes perforating the wood. The smell of wormwood, and such strong-scented herbs, is said to keep them at a distance; but the most common way of destroying them is by pouring boiling water into their holes, or laying trains of gunpowder in their line of march, and thereby blowing them up. By this last method gentlemen also often amuse themselves in destroying the common flies.

The *bandicoot*, or musk-rat, is another troublesome animal, more indeed from its offensive smell than any thing else. Some of these are found as large as a Guinea pig; and wherever they go, or whatever they touch, instantly partakes of a strong flavour of musk. Nay, so astonishingly communicative is the nauseous stink of this animal, that, if by chance it should get into a cellar and pass over some bottles, or even a pipe of wine, the liquor will ever afterwards taste and smell so strongly of musk as to be rendered entirely unfit for use. This makes housekeepers very careful in securing their cellars.

Snakes

Snakes of various kinds are so numerous here, that this may justly be called the country of serpents. The sting of some of them is reckoned very dangerous, if not deadly; while others are so docile, that the country people catching them when young, and pulling out their teeth and stings, render them perfectly domestic, teaching them to dance and leap in a familiar manner to the music of a rustic pipe or violin. It is truly surprising to behold how charmed these creatures are with the sound of any instrument, but particularly the bagpipe, raising their heads with seeming joy, and moving their bodies in concord with the musical notes. As the time quickens, they appear more and more delighted; and at last get into such an ecstasy, that you see them extend their beautiful bells, and quicken the motion of their heads, whilst their eyes sparkle with increased lustre. Those gentlemen, whose residence was next to the 73d regiment, used often to allege, in a jocular manner, that our bagpiper drew every snake in the country to his neighbourhood by the charms of his music; which was certainly the case, for he has often discovered them dancing round his feet, whilst he entertained the soldiers with a few Highland reels. The bagpipe appears also to be a favourite instrument amongst the natives. They have no taste indeed for any other kind of music, and they would much rather listen to this instrument a whole day than to an organ for ten minutes.



The most dangerous of those reptiles are the *coverymani* and the green snake. The first is a beautiful little creature, very lively, and about six or seven inches long. It creeps into all private corners of houses, and is often found coiled up betwixt the sheets, or perhaps under the pillow, of one's bed. It's sting is said to inflict immediate death; though I must confess, for my own part, that I never heard of any dangerous accident occasioned by it. The green snake is generally discovered winding round some branch of a tree: and it is said to have such power of attraction from its beautiful colour, that, when once the eye is fixed upon it, it cannot be withdrawn until the snake darts at the eyeball, and scoops it fairly from the socket. It is also said to attract birds in the same manner. But these assertions have too much the air of fable to merit an implicit belief. Many very large snakes are also found in the fields of six or eight feet long; but the largest of these reptiles that I ever beheld was at the Cape of Good Hope; it was at least sixteen or seventeen feet in length, and two in circumference. When at first surpris'd, he reared his head from the ground full five feet high, and instantly made off quicker than I could follow; sometimes creeping, and at other times vaulting three or four feet at a time. One fortunate circumstance respecting these animals is, that they never offer violence unless provoked.

Providence

Providence has kindly placed an animal in this country as an implacable enemy to all reptiles, but particularly the snake. It is called a *mungoose*, and is of the ferret kind, but much more beautiful both in colour and shape. Families often keep one of them tamed in their houses, as cats are treated in England. It also appears that nature has placed a certain kind of herb in this soil, the instant application of which enables the mungoose to attack the snake without any danger from his sting. When this animal meets with a coverymanil, or any other serpent, he first runs round the room or yard, to see if by any opening he can have ready access to the grass; and when this can be easily effected he furiously attacks the snake by the throat, and soon puts an end to its existence; after which he is immediately guided by instinct to the grass, which purifies him from the poison.

Scorpions and *centipedes* are also very troublesome in old houses and barracks, their stings being attended with great pain, and sometimes danger. The tarantula exists here as well as in Italy, the venomous bite of which you know is said to be cured by dancing in excess to some favourite music, but this assertion I think hardly to be credited.

For the first week or two of our residence in the barracks of Pondamalee, I was much astonished every night after I went

to bed, and particularly in rainy weather, to hear a most confounded noise, which I at first took for the bleating of a flock of hungry sheep, but which I found to proceed from the croaking of frogs in the neighbouring tanks and pools. They sometimes grow to the size of a chicken, and are extremely numerous. The noise of the grasshoppers is no less disagreeable in rainy weather. At such times they crowd in swarms into the houses, and hop into every dish at supper; nor is it at all uncommon, whilst at meals, to discover young frogs, that have secretly crept into the house, crawling upon the side walls like lizards, until they have reached the ceiling, when it is often their fate to drop into a basin of syllabub, or a hot dish of curry and rice.

The howling of the jackall is also extremely disagreeable when one has retired to rest. They sally from their concealed retreats in quest of prey, during the silence of the night, accompanied by a species of the common cur, called a *pariar* dog. Both of these are inoffensive animals, living entirely upon the dead carcases or carrion they can meet with in the course of their travels.

They have here an amphibious animal called the *guana*, a species of the crocodile or alligator, of which soup is made equal to that of the turtle. This I take upon hear-say, for it is to me of all others the most loathsome of animals, not less so than the toad.

As



As in India the windows and doors are constantly kept open, for the reception of the cooling sea breeze, they are obliged to use glass shades open at the top and bottom for the preservation of their candles from the musquitoes and other flies, which, having a propensity to make towards the light, would otherwise speedily extinguish the flame.

I have little to observe on the feathered creation in the east. No singing birds are to be met with, but the variegated beauties of the plumage exceed every thing of the kind I ever beheld; and, what occasions surprise to strangers, none of these birds are proper to be eaten. Paroquets fly about the groves in numerous flocks. But the most remarkable of all these foreign fowls is the flying fox, as it is called here, but which is nothing more than a monstrous bat-wing. You will hardly credit me, although it is certainly true, that these are in size bigger than an owl, and that the space betwixt the tips of their wings, when extended, will measure from four to five feet. Prodigious flocks of them roost like rooks upon the tops of high trees; and when they are put to flight the sky is darkened by their infinite numbers. These only frequent the woods and groves, for they have a smaller species of the bat which haunts the houses.

The simple methods by which the natives entrap the wild-duck or teal are curious, and not altogether unworthy of notice.

If



If they are seen sitting amongst the grass or brushwood in marshes or swampy grounds, two sportsmen go with a net in one hand, and, holding a large green branch in the other, they creep slowly along upon their bellies, keeping the branch betwixt them and the game, until they come nigh enough to throw the net quickly over them, when they are almost sure to catch the unwary birds. Should the wild-fowl be discovered upon deep water, the Indian has recourse to another stratagem. He gets a large earthen jar, such as is generally used by the natives for boiling their victuals, into which he puts his head, having first pierced three small holes upon its side for his eyes and nose, and another upon the top, into which is placed a green branch hanging carelessly over it. Thus equipped, he takes the water like a Newfoundland dog, and swims slowly off towards the birds. It is an usual custom for the country people to throw their old earthen pots into the neighbouring tanks or ponds, which the wild-duck and teal often come to pick at, as they float away with the wind. This habit the sportsman artfully avails himself of; and, when the unsuspecting bird comes nigh enough to pick at the jar or branch which he carries upon his head, he flips his hand cautiously up, and, seizing the duck by the feet, pulls it quickly under water, where it is immediately drowned.

All carnivorous birds are much cherished in India, for the political purpose of devouring dead carcases, and other offensive  
 5  
 nuisances.

nuisances. On this account, as violence is seldom offered to them, the vultures and kites, but particularly the crows, are quite tame. These last have often afforded us great diversion when at breakfast. As doors and windows are never shut here, they pass to and fro quite familiarly from one room to another; and when the tea-things are laid upon the table in the morning you will sometimes see a crow hop off with a print of butter in his bill. The ladies and gentlemen frequently amuse themselves whilst at breakfast by giving names to these birds, and throwing crumbs of bread upon the floor to them, and a beautiful kind of small squirrel which is quite domestic here. This pretty little inoffensive animal comes regularly to partake of the scramble, and has frequently diverting sparrings with the crows, which yield not a little entertainment to the company.

The European gentlemen often amuse themselves by firing balls at those large vultures and kites; and they sometimes try their dexterity in shooting at them with the pellet-bow, an instrument which is so constructed with two cords instead of one, that, with a little practice, an object may be hit very exactly with small clay balls cemented by soap and water, and afterwards dried in the sun; which go with great velocity for the space of two or three hundred yards. The black people too make use of a kind of air-gun to shoot small birds with. It is nothing more than  
a cylindrical

a cylindrical piece of small cane-wood, about six feet long, and smoothly pierced from one end to the other, the bore being made large enough easily to admit a pea. With this machine, and a pocket full of dried peas, the Indian sets out to the woods and hedges in quest of game; and, putting a pea with one end of the instrument into his mouth, he points the other extremity towards the object, observing to give it the proper elevation, and by the force of his breath and tongue shoots the pea through it with great exactness to a very considerable distance.

LETTER



## L E T T E R    V.

Pondamalee, March 1780.

WHEN an European arrives at Madras, he is obliged, in a short time afterwards, to get a fresh supply of cotton shirts, waistcoats, and breeches, not only because they are better adapted to the climate, but because the washermen seem to have come under an engagement to the cotton-venders and tailors, to destroy the European habiliments as soon as possible; which indeed they do very effectually, and make no secret of their purpose; for while they thump your linen upon the washing-stones, at every blow they call out *Europe!* and strike it with ten times the force they would do the produce of their own country: so that it is folly for English gentlemen to bring any thing of that kind out with them, excepting a sufficiency of old shirts and stockings for the voyage, as the best of them will be wholly destroyed in the course of a month, these washermen never resting till they have reduced all your linen to rags. And this leads me to make you acquainted with the articles which seem most necessary for a

G

gentleman



gentleman to purchase in England before he embarks for the East-Indies.

I have always observed that, when our countrymen are preparing to emigrate, they think they never can have conveniences enough, and equip themselves for the voyage as if no country but their own produced any comforts or accommodations for strangers. Such ideas, however, are both vain and absurd; and I think the man that trusts nothing to Providence is very ill calculated for pushing his fortune abroad. Most countries, in my opinion, are capable of affording a sufficient portion of the comforts of life for any individual; and were our countrymen to dispense with a few unnecessary luxuries upon these expeditions they would save a great deal of money that might be better laid out upon other occasions.

All that is necessary for a young adventurer to carry out with him to the East-Indies is, as much light cloth and other furnishings as will be sufficient for three or four coats; a few fashionable thin waistcoats; three hats, two black and one white; four pair of boots; twelve or eighteen pair of neat shoes, some of them thin, and others pretty thick for the monsoon weather; with only a few pairs of silk stockings, as those of the country are for the most part worn: a neat saddle and bridle, with a strong bit, spare  
girths

girths and straps; and a box will be necessary to preserve it as well as the shoes and boots from the white ants. A fowling-piece and a few books are to be added to the list. A gentleman should leave his measure behind him with his tailor and shoemaker in particular; but, above all things, one full suit of coat, waistcoat, and breeches, and a complete ruffled shirt, must be made to fit him exactly to his taste; which in India should be always carefully reserved as a specimen to the black tailors, as it is entirely by pattern that those people work, which they imitate to the greatest nicety, though they cannot exactly take a measure; and when once the pattern is lost the gentleman must never afterwards expect to get his clothes well made. The above articles would cost in India three times their original value, and are there indispensably necessary.

For the requisite conveniences on board ship, one should, in the first place, complete his stock to one dozen ruffled shirts for particular occasions, and three dozen coarse plain ones, which may be occasionally washed by a sailor or soldier's wife on board; for which purpose it will be necessary to provide some soap and a smoothing iron: he should likewise have a few black stocks or neckcloths, two pair of dark fustian trowsers, and six neat white ones to button at the ankles, with his former stock of breeches and stockings, both worsted and thread; a boat-cloak, a ship-cot, with three pairs of sheets, six pillow-cases, and bedding; two

dozen of hand-towels; an huswife, with variety of strong sewing threads, darning needles, pins, and a parcel of spare shirt and clothes buttons; a few quires of brown paper for necessary uses; some tea, sago, and sugar ready pounded; a cheese; a few pounds of salt butter, and some biscuits; with a tin tea-kettle, and tea-equipage for six persons; also two large and four small japanned quart mugs; a good stout case of spirituous liquors, particularly gin; six dozen of Bristol water, which ought to be sparingly dealt out in case of sickness; some bottles of souring and shrub, and three dozen of wine: and these I think will be quite sufficient for any private gentleman's stock for an East-India voyage.

I have been thus particular in specifying every necessary article, as it is probable some of your friends may, one day or other, have such a voyage to perform; which leads me to hope that, on that account, these memorandums may be acceptable. I have only one thing more to observe on this subject, which is, that great economy should be attended to in the purchase of these articles before embarkation, as the passenger will have occasion for double the sum he expends in Europe to equip himself with those necessary to the climate when he arrives in India.

It is somewhat singular that tailors, by their physiognomy, should be so universally distinguished from every other class of people.



people. This is at once an index to their profession in this country. Their tribe is generally of the Moorish cast; and needle-work in every shape is performed by these people in the neatest manner, such as coats, waistcoats, breeches, and shirts. They are also ladies' mantua-makers. A tailor requires nothing but a *muster*, as they call a pattern, and some cash in advance, to begin your job immediately; for without at least an half in advance of the sum that has been agreed upon no tradesman whatever in this country will take your work in hand. This prudential maxim they have universally established throughout the settlement, pleading poverty upon all occasions as an excuse; but the cause seems rather to arise from the slow payment which they too frequently experience from their employers. A tradesman here has not the least idea that he should be in advance from the profits of his business, for the necessary materials required by his employer, before the job is finished: he thinks that the man whose business is to be done may as well be at that inconvenience. They imitate your tailors in England to a nicety, in taking ten times more work in hand than they are able to perform; and can make a false promise with as much confidence and gravity as any man of the kind in London; earnestly desiring that you may *cut their heads off* (a favourite expression of theirs) if they are not punctual to the day appointed; but I am afraid that, were the Europeans to take them at their



dozen of hand-towels; an hufwife, with variety of strong sewing threads, darning needles, pins, and a parcel of spare shirt and clothes buttons; a few quires of brown paper for necessary uses; some tea, sago, and sugar ready pounded; a cheese; a few pounds of salt butter, and some biscuits; with a tin tea-kettle, and tea-equipage for six persons; also two large and four small japanned quart mugs; a good stout case of spirituous liquors, particularly gin; six dozen of Bristol water, which ought to be sparingly dealt out in case of sickness; some bottles of fouring and shrub, and three dozen of wine: and these I think will be quite sufficient for any private gentleman's stock for an East-India voyage.

I have been thus particular in specifying every necessary article, as it is probable some of your friends may, one day or other, have such a voyage to perform; which leads me to hope that, on that account, these memorandums may be acceptable. I have only one thing more to observe on this subject, which is, that great economy should be attended to in the purchase of these articles before embarkation, as the passenger will have occasion for double the sum he expends in Europe to equip himself with those necessary to the climate when he arrives in India.

It is somewhat singular that tailors, by their physiognomy, should be so universally distinguished from every other class of people.

people. This is at once an index to their profession in this country. Their tribe is generally of the Moorish cast; and needle-work in every shape is performed by these people in the neatest manner, such as coats, waistcoats, breeches, and shirts. They are also ladies' mantua-makers. A tailor requires nothing but a *muster*, as they call a pattern, and some cash in advance, to begin your job immediately; for without at least an half in advance of the sum that has been agreed upon no tradesman whatever in this country will take your work in hand. This prudential maxim they have universally established throughout the settlement, pleading poverty upon all occasions as an excuse; but the cause seems rather to arise from the slow payment which they too frequently experience from their employers. A tradesman here has not the least idea that he should be in advance from the profits of his business, for the necessary materials required by his employer, before the job is finished: he thinks that the man whose business is to be done may as well be at that inconvenience. They imitate your tailors in England to a nicety, in taking ten times more work in hand than they are able to perform; and can make a false promise with as much confidence and gravity as any man of the kind in London; earnestly desiring that you may *cut their heads off* (a favourite expression of theirs) if they are not punctual to the day appointed; but I am afraid that, were the Europeans to take them at their word,

word, we should soon be obliged to make our own clothes, in consequence of the decapitation of tailors, for oftentimes the application of the rattan is necessary to render them expeditious.

A laughable circumstance of this kind happened at Pondamalee with one of these rogues, who had engaged to make some clothing for our regiment. He had put upon that job about a dozen of apprentices, who were so very slow in their operations as perfectly to tire out the patience of the officer that had employed him; who thought it necessary to treat the master-tailor with a flourish of the rattan; which was no sooner administered than he fell down upon his knees and implored for mercy, promising faithfully, if pardoned at this time, that he would "one hundred taylors bring" to-morrow morning to finish the work; upon which he was released. Next morning at six o'clock, who should appear at the officer's quarters but the same fellow drawn up at the head of one hundred tailors, with their fingers thimble, and needles threaded, ready for action! And he was ever afterwards distinguished by the name of One-hundred-taylors-bring. But although I have thus, in many places, described the artifice and cunning of the Indians, yet it must be confessed that they have originally been obliged to adopt those measures from necessity, in order to counteract the vicious practices of European emigrants

Of all the barbers I ever knew, the Gentoos and Malabars handle a razor the best. Their delicate hands run imperceptibly over the face; and before one thinks they have begun the operation is completed, which, in so sultry a climate, must be repeated every day. To this succeeds a luxury to which in Europe you are utter strangers, and that, under the hands of these Indians, may be termed a real pleasure. This arises from the paring of the nails of both fingers and toes, picking the ears, and cracking the joints. For the first of these they use a small neat sharp chisel, with which they slice off the nails in the neatest manner. It is with a silver pin, much the same as those used in England, that they pick the ears, beginning to tickle them very gently, and by degrees inducing a perfect ecstasy from the pleasures which they excite. This is succeeded by the cracking of the joints, which I think displays more art than any of the rest. The operator first seizes a person by the ears, and giving a sudden twist to the neck makes it crack in a manner sufficient to frighten a stranger: he thence descends, in regular order, to every joint in the body and limbs; making each of them crack as he goes along, finishing at the great toe. This greatly refreshes a person after walking, or any exercise of fatigue.

I should undoubtedly have been more particular in describing the different *casts* and tribes of this country, with their  
various



various customs and prejudices, had they not been so fully treated of by different authors, whom I doubt not you have already seen. It is therefore my intention to take notice of such things only as may appear to have escaped their observation. Amongst these I think the cast of Malabars have hardly been mentioned as a separate tribe from the rest, being indiscriminately mingled with the Gentoos class. But I am convinced that they are a distinct sect of people, entirely governed by their own customs and laws, and are as numerous in this part of the country as the others. Their manners and religion have so great an affinity to those of the Gentoos, that a stranger may be apt to consider them as one and the same people, they being also under the control of the Bramins; but they speak quite a distinct language from any of the other casts, and, like the rest, have their own peculiarities. The Malabars are employed as domestics promiscuously with the other casts; and are only known by the distinguishing mark of their tribe, which is having the forehead rubbed across with whitening, and a small round spot, either red or yellow, fixed betwixt the eyes. Now the Gentoos are known by a small bit of red or yellow wax pasted upon the forehead, in a perpendicular direction betwixt the eyes, on each side of which is marked upon the skin a small border of chalk, which reaches to the top of the forehead. Each cast, from the highest to the lowest of both sexes, is distinguished in this manner by some particular mark upon the face.

I fancy

I fancy it will not be amiss, in order to refresh your memory, to remind you that Moormen are, for the most part, soldiers by profession, particularly in the cavalry; as are also the casts of Rajahpoots, Marrattas, Pitans and Poligars. Gentoos, or Hindoos, and Malabars, are employed as dubashes, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, palanquin bearers, and sometimes lascars or sailors. Bramins are the priests of either Gentoos or Malabars, and in time of war are used as *bircarras* or spies. The pariar-cast is the lowest of all: those occupy the stations of coolies or porters, horsekeepers, herds, cooks, fishermen and shoemakers, and sometimes make the most convenient servants of any. A mongrel breed of Portuguese fill the stations of clerks, menial servants, and other useful occupations.

In this country the women are kept perfectly idle and ignorant; those of the higher casts being either entertained as wives and concubines in the *zenanas*, or as dancing girls; excepting such as have lost cast, who, with the Portuguese wenches, a few Moorish and pariar women, generally fall to the lot of European soldiers as temporary wives. These are also the kind of ladies which European officers and civilians take such delight in supporting as kept mistresses; some gentlemen, of a singular (and I think unnatural) taste, preferring them to white women. For my part, I consider them at best as a filthy inanimate set of creatures, having a strong  
H smell;

smell; either of cocoa-nut oil, with which they constantly besmear their hair; or of the juice of beetle-nut, which they are for ever chewing, as a sailor does tobacco; and squirting over their clothes and apartments in the dirtiest manner. They also frequently rub themselves with ill-flavoured flowers and herbs, enough to disgust any man with a sound nose. Many allowances are however to be made for the ungovernable passions of those gentlemen, which absolutely must have vent in this stimulating climate; but I hope such parents will pardon my patriotism should I exclaim against transporting their offspring so frequently to Great Britain. Measures might easily be fallen upon, both in the East and West Indies, to give those mulattoes a decent education in the country where they are born; and it surely would be more commendable by those means to render such children serviceable to their native colonies, which are much better suited to their tempers and constitutions, and consequently more conducive to their real happiness, than an education in Great Britain, where the birth which nature has given them constantly exposes them, however unjustly, to ridicule and reproach. If you were only to examine all the seminaries in Britain for the education of youth, it would be found that nearly one out of ten in the numbers they contain is of that description. I am therefore persuaded that the fathers of those children, who are in any wise attached to their country, must, as well as myself, be convinced of the great danger which in course of time may arise to the mother

5

kingdom

kingdom from this practice. And surely government never took the importance of this matter seriously into consideration, otherwise a commerce, that may so sensibly degenerate the race, and give a fallow tinge to the complexion of Britons, would most certainly be prohibited. It was by this means that the Spaniards and Portuguese got so much of the dusky hue in their countenances, having kept up an unrestrained intercourse with their colonies till they were reduced to their present despicable state: but the French, sensible of its bad effects, issued an edict that none of those sable or tawny-coloured foreigners should ever be permitted to remain above eight days in France, and that they must immediately return by the first ship to their own country. If the liberty of our government necessarily renders a prohibition of this kind impracticable, the next object is to render them subservient to the state, by imposing a swinging tax upon all that come under the denomination of mulattoes, or, as they are called in the East Indies, half-casts.



## LETTER VI.

Madras, April 1780.

AN entertainment given by the governor, or any other gentleman of consequence here, is really a curious spectacle. It is the custom for each guest to go thither attended by all his retinue of servants, who wait upon him at table in great pomp; the head dubash taking post directly behind his master, that he may convey his orders to the rest, who are all arranged in the rear as far back as the dining-room walls. This ridiculous fashion, together with the steam of the meat, renders the room intolerably suffocating and disagreeable during dinner; and it is my astonishment how a habit so very inconsistent with the heat of the climate should be so universally prevalent in these warm countries. They use a pleasant kind of drink, called *country beer*, with their victuals, which is composed of toddy, a juice extracted from the cocoa-nut tree, porter, and brown sugar; is of a brisk nature, but, when cooled with salt-petre and water, becomes a very refreshing draught. It is reckoned ungentle upon such occasions to be attended by any domestics but your own, though strangers are often under the necessity

necessity of being aided by those of their neighbours ; and I must say that the gentlemen shew great attention to them at those feasts : yet a foreigner at first feels quite in pain when he is obliged to ask for any thing at table ; for the sign is no sooner made than twenty servants get into rapid motion, all darting at one object, and frequently running against each other in the simple act of handing a glass of beer. During these scenes it is amusing to inspect the variety of singular visages and dresses that one observes in all quarters of the hall : nor can a person easily divest himself of the idea that he is in the midst of a masquerade. Every liquor that is brought to a great man's table, even the water, is cooled with saltpetre, which renders claret and Madeira, the wines most commonly used, exceedingly palatable. The art of wine-cooling is a distinct profession of itself, and requires practice to gain a proficiency in. The less opulent inhabitants cool their liquors by wrapping a wet towel round the bottle, and hanging it up in a draught of wind for about a quarter of an hour. When the cloth is removed, all the servants, excepting the *bookerbedar*, retire, and make way for the sea breeze to circulate, which is very refreshing to the company whilst they drink their wine and smoke the *booker*, a machine not easily described, but in some degree resembling an house-bell set upon its mouth, containing water, fire, tobacco, and odoriferous aromatics, and to which is fixed a tube of three or four yards long that conveys the fume to the mouth through a coral pipe at its end. This instrument

instrument is trimmed and set in order by the hookerbedar, who has no other profession, and who sits upon his hams at a distance, in the rear of his master, adjusting the *chillum*, as they call the different ingredients, whilst he conveys the coral pipe to his mouth, which at every whiff sounds like boiling water; so that, when ten or twelve gentlemen smoke at the same time, they make a noise as if they were all snoring together.

This country is abundantly supplied with all kinds of good provisions, which are sold at a very cheap rate; and, considering the parched nature of the soil, the quantity and variety of vegetables produced at Madras are really surprising, though in some places up the country they are yet more abundant, particularly at Vellore, where cabbages grow to an immense size; but it is in poultry that Vellore chiefly excels. The capons there are as large as turkies, and the fowls as English capons, being also remarkably delicate and cheap. Indeed all over this country the poultry is far superior to any in England. Fifty or sixty fowls may be had here for a pagoda or eight shillings, eight ducks for a pagoda; and wild-fowl, as well as tame, are equally reasonable.

The Coromandel coast abounds with fish; such as whittings, mullet, scate, oysters, &c.; but the fresh water productions of this nature are very bad. These are only to be found in stagnant pools

or

or tanks, and are so poor and boney that one is liable to be choked by them. It is the business of palanquin boys to fish in those tanks with nets when their masters travel through the country.

Pretty good beef and kid are to be had at the Madras market; but the Pollam mutton which comes thither is equally delicate and savoury with the Scotch and Welsh. At Pondamalee our regiment contracted with a butcher to serve the soldiers with an inferior kind of mutton, though good, at six sheep for a pagoda; and the best sort was given to the officers at about two shillings or a rupee each. European liquors, such as claret, Madeira, rum, brandy, gin, porter, and ale, are to be had in this country of the very best quality, and nearly as cheap as in England. Arrack, the only spirituous liquor made here, is distilled from rice, but is of a very pernicious quality. The best kind comes from Batavia, and with it the troops are supplied by the Company; but the soldiers, who have a great propensity to drinking (of whom there are not a few in India), content themselves with the produce of this country, because it is cheap; but which frequently brings on fatal disorders, as, for the most part, they drink it quite new from the still. Part of the perquisites appertaining to the commanding officer of a garrison arises from keeping a rack shop for the convenience of the troops under his command; an indulgence which, in my opinion, ought to be abolished as highly pernicious to the service,

no



no practice whatever tending so much to the encouragement of drunkenness.

The European ladies are said to enjoy better health than the men in these warm climates; but this is easily accounted for by their spending the most part of their time within doors. Sleep and dress compose the chief part of their amusement; for they very ridiculously support all the expense of dress and form of European fashion, which indeed they carry to the most ridiculous extremes. For the indulgence of their vanity and extravagance they put themselves in fetters, in place of adopting some loose and easy attire, better suited to the climate, equally becoming, and of less expense. Economy and attention to the regulation of their families are matters which they disclaim; and the husband who should venture to hint at them would probably break the slender thread of domestic cordiality.

When a young lady arrives at Madras she must, in a few days afterwards, sit up to receive company, attended by some beau as master of the ceremonies, which perhaps continues for a week, or until she has seen all the fair sex and gentlemen of the settlement. This is a favourable opportunity for the display of folly and extravagance, the ladies vying with each other who shall put their husbands or parents to most expense, and who shall cut  
the

the most ridiculous figure, with high heads, flying feathers, jewels, and filken robes. They are seldom ever seen before, and never visit until the candles are lighted up in the evening; and then four or five are quite sufficient at one time to fill up all the couches and chairs in any house; being obliged, from the extravagant width of their bell-hoops, to sit three or four yards asunder. They assume precedence in all societies according to the rank of their husbands and fathers in the Company's service; and many of them have the weakness to affect such airs of pomp and ceremony as render their company extremely disgusting in any public place. But I should be sorry not to make a wide distinction between these and many whom I have the honour of knowing; who grace society so much by their affability, sprightliness, and good sense, that I have often wished that the newly-imported ladies might be initiated into the fashions of Madras by such virtuous examples; but chance too often directs it otherwise, and, unfortunately, the ridiculous party most prevail.

I apprehend that fewer ladies would remain so long in the Indian market did they display more of their abilities in the economy and management of a family than in adjusting the etiquette of extravagant decoration; for, according to the present mode of life, none but the most opulent can venture upon the luxury of a wife. A young man who has his fortune to make, in the accomplishment of such a measure, rushes upon certain

I

destruction:

destruction: yet some there are so thoughtless as to dive hastily into wedlock with those *extravaganzas* at the first *coup d'oeil*, which I conclude to be more fortunate for the lady than her husband; as I have not a doubt but it is much easier for a gentleman to support a whole zenana of Indians than the extravagance of one English lady.

The Europeans build in a most magnificent style here; and what adds much to the beauty of their houses is a kind of lime, peculiar to this country, called *chunam*, which admits of a polish equal to marble. All the houses, inside and out, are plastered in the neatest manner with this cement, which does not harbour vermin like paper or wainscot. Every gentleman of note has a house upon *Choultry plain*, which, from being formerly a sandy desert, is now become a most beautiful retreat. I suppose there are not less than five or six hundred garden houses scattered upon these grounds, all within a circle of six or seven miles, and none above three miles from the garrison; nor is it easy to determine which of them is the handsomest. The houses are most of them two stories high, and appear as if supported upon elegant pillars of various orders. The apartments are generally up stairs, and all on one floor; those below being used as cellars, kitchens, &c. Piazzas are constructed all round the house, both above and below, which keep it extremely cool and pleasant the whole day long. The  
roof

roof is quite flat; where sometimes gentlemen prefer sleeping at night to any other place, on account of the cool situation, as no danger is to be apprehended from the dews in this country for about six or seven months in the year; yet it is not reckoned very prudent to expose one's self much to the night air, particularly where there is a draught, it often proving very dangerous; for there is a wind which always blows from the land, or west, during the night, that has been known to deprive people of the use of their limbs in the course of a few hours, particularly those that are unseasoned to the climate.

None but Europeans are permitted to sleep all night in Fort St. George; the *Black Town*, of prodigious extent, situated beyond the north esplanade of the garrison, being allotted for the residence of the Indian merchants, dubashes, Armenians, and Portuguese. The nabob has also a town-house here: it is surrounded by a strong wall with bastions, and is two or three miles in circumference.

All ranks of people in this country rise at gun-firing in the morning, to receive the sun in all his glorious splendour, and to enjoy a cool ride before he shoots forth his more powerful and oppressive rays. Breakfast is over by eight o'clock; and from that time till mid-day every person appears panting with the excessive



heat and closeness of the air, until the refreshing sea-breeze arises from the ocean, and yields a salutary relief to the general distress. This is very naturally called the *doctor*: and, if we consider the superstitious ideas of the Indians, it is a matter of surprise that they have never thought of adoring the sea-breeze as a deity; for, in my opinion, it is the greatest blessing they enjoy.

A circumstance equally laughable and singular induces me to trespass a little upon delicacy, in relating the manner in which the Indians obey the excretory impulse of nature. There is no amusement whatever in which they seem more sociable than in this operation, which is generally performed at the hour of six in the morning. They first come out to the doors of their houses, stretching themselves three or four times, and then sit down to wash their mouths and pick their teeth, in which they are very cleanly. This being done, they next proceed in snug parties of about a dozen of men, women, and children (each having a little bit of smoking tobacco in his mouth to excite a relaxation), to the neighbouring fields, where thousands of them at a time range themselves in circles; and, squatting upon their hams, remain perhaps a full hour in that position talking over their family politics: nor are they in the least discomposed from strangers passing by, considering it as a blessed recreation in which no one ought to be disturbed. Each person being covered, in this attitude,

from

from the morning dew, by a piece of white cotton cloth, they resemble a flock of sea-gulls spread upon a ploughed field. A conclusion is at last put to this tedious operation, by retiring to the next rivulet or pool in order to cleanse themselves; to which purpose the left hand is solely appropriated, and seldom ever used upon any other occasion. The right hand is devoted to the nobler office of lifting the food to the mouth, knives or forks never being used, or any kind of substitute for them.

I have been often obliged, on account of this abominable nuisance, when taking the morning air on horseback, to gallop at least half a mile with my fingers to my nose. One would suppose that the people of Madras consider the odour of human excrement as conducive to health, for they seem to take no steps of any kind to abolish this unfavourable practice.

LETTER

## LETTER VII.

Madras, April 1780.

ONE day, as I walked upon the esplanade of Fort St. George, a curiosity which I had long entertained was gratified by a sight of Mahomed Ally Cawn, Nabob of Arcot, going from his town residence to his country palace, called *Chepauk-house*, upon Choultry plain, a place much resembling a state prison. The style and appearance of his suite and equipage did not strike me with that refulgent light in which I had been taught to consider an Indian nabob. The old gentleman's hoary beard and pensive mien bespoke him a prince of a dejected and oppressed mind; for while he passed the newly-arrived Europeans he cast on them such a glance of majesty, blended with sorrow, as one could not behold without compassion and respect. The expression in his countenance seemed to say "Can you who are as yet unpolluted, and  
 " strangers to the depravity of your countrymen in this part of  
 " the world, can you give any consolation to, or assuage the pangs  
 " of, an afflicted prince, who groans under an insupportable load of  
 " oppression, imposed upon him by the artifice of simulative friend-  
 " ship?"

“ship?” His highness was accompanied by two of his sons, the elder of whom seemed perfectly resigned to wear the chains of an usurped despotism when Providence should think proper to relieve his father from the bondage; but the second, named *Aumier*, bore the air of one who was impatient to avenge the indignities imposed upon his ancestors.

The manner in which the Company have established surgeons and physicians in this country will ever perpetuate their humanity. I do not suppose that there is a place of the same extent on the face of the globe so well supplied with gentlemen of the faculty as the Company's settlements in the East-Indies. This would be reckoned a great blessing in any place, even although their fees should be high; but here the Company are at every expense, generously easing all the Europeans in their territories of this oppressive burden. All those gentlemen are handsomely paid by the Company, and have, at particular times, such other emoluments and appointments as to render their's the most advantageous profession in India. They are ordered to attend, *gratis*, all patients from the highest to the lowest, and never to refuse a call: and it must be allowed that they obey their instructions in a manner the most attentive and genteel. It would offend were they to be offered any thing as a reward for their trouble; but it frequently happens that gratitude prompts the opulent to make them presents



of rings or diamonds of a very considerable value. A person is not even at the expense of his medicines here, for the Company have immense quantities of the very best drugs yearly sent out from England for the use of the settlement, which are lodged in a large warehouse, under the management and direction of the chief physicians, where they are carefully prepared for immediate use by skilful Portuguese. When a surgeon is called to a patient, after examining his case, he gives him a written recipe with an order upon the medicine store-room for whatever is wanted, upon producing which, a servant can at any time receive the medicines ready prepared; and there is hardly an instance of a mistake being committed.

The disorders most common amongst the Europeans are bilious fevers, the liver complaint, bloody fluxes, and ruptures. Almost every person is more or less troubled with a redundancy of bile, which is of all others the most perplexing disorder, completely unhinging the whole corporeal system, and rendering one totally unfit for any kind of business or duty: it is the origin of all other complaints, for chiefly from an excess of bile proceeds the bloody flux, and from bilious obstructions comes the liver. This is nothing more than bile clotted and hardened upon the liver, which, if not taken in time, brings on a mortification; and then an incision upon the side is necessary as the last resource, in order to scrape or cut  
away

away the putrid matter. This disorder first appears by a violent stitch in the right side, and sometimes a pain in the shoulder; and is frequently preceded by a dysentery. The most common symptoms of bile are, a weight and drowsiness about the eyes, which become quite dim and inflamed, sometimes feeling a sharpness as if snuff had been thrown into them; a fallow tinge in the complexion, a foul tongue with a copperish taste in the mouth, a constant nausea, an oppression in breathing, an excessive languor and aversion to action, a great desire to sleep, which, however, is often broken by frightful dreams; and, lastly, the ideas become quite distracted and broken. The liver is for the most part cured by the administration of mercury; which is used with very great effect in many disorders incident to this warm climate. Tartar-emetic and rhubarb soon expel the bile; but an exact regimen is at the same time necessarily to be observed. Some minerals are reckoned, in extreme cases, to be a sovereign remedy; such as those of Cheltenham and Peterhead: but I have never heard of any waters under that denomination in India. The bile is certainly constitutional with many, but there is not a doubt of its being very much increased by the gross manner in which the English live here, and their excessive use of mixed liquors. The French have greatly the advantage of us in this point.

I cannot say much of the physical system practised by the black people. Simples are most commonly administered; and their

K

abstemious

abstemious manner of life soon effects a cure in cases that would kill an European. Certain disorders of a most pernicious nature are unfortunately too common amongst them, which they patch up in the best manner possible with plasters of strong herbs or roots; a system that renders many of them in a short time perfect leopards; for one sore is no sooner healed than another breaks out. This is unfortunately their fate with most ulcerous distempers; and what gives them a singular appearance is that, wherever a wound of that nature has healed up, the skin grows white, giving those afflicted the similitude of piebalds. This extraordinary effect is also seen in any black person that happens to be drowned or struck dead by lightning, their skin immediately turning white. Should two drowned men be driven on shore, the one an Indian, and the other an European, the difference betwixt them is only to be discovered by the teeth, which, in the Indian, are generally tinged by beetle-nut juice.

When a woman is discovered to have wounded her lover in the wars of Venus, her fine hair is instantly cut off close by the neck, and she is mounted backwards upon a jack-ass, being obliged by the mob to ride in that disgraceful manner through every street in the town. It is therefore prudent in strangers at all times to beware of the short-haired damsels.

In

In passing through the streets of the Black Town one is greatly astonished at the excessive laziness of the natives: the doors of their houses are constantly crowded with men, women, and children, sitting in a state of inactive stupidity; nor is their curiosity in the least aroused by any strange object that may pass, even disdaining the trouble of turning their heads to look at it. Should themselves or children be in danger of getting crushed by an horse or carriage, they will not move, nor put out their hands to draw back their infants, until the very moment of peril; nor do they retire an inch farther than is necessary, and even this is done with an air of visible dissatisfaction. They consider ease as the chief luxury upon earth, using a maxim, "That it is better to walk than to run; to sit than to stand; but lying is best of all." And they are greatly astonished that Europeans should find any pleasure in exercise.

Such is their delight in sleep that they have not a spare moment which is not devoted to Morpheus, throwing themselves down to rest with the greatest facility in any bye-corner, as a fatigued dog does when returned from the chase, and in an instant falling asleep; nor are they ever in the least discomposed, although perhaps disturbed ten times in an hour, happily renewing their nap at pleasure.

An extraordinary set of men, called *faquiers*, wander about the country in the style of begging priests. They very much



resemble our field preachers in England ; and are horridly disfigured with brick dust, chunam, and other religious decorations ; appearing like fanatics whilst executing some ridiculous vow which they have made.

We have also seen here jugglers and conjurers who seemed very expert in their different occupations. Two performances in particular I was an eye-witness to of a very incredible nature, although done without the smallest disguise.—The first was executed by a conjurer, who swallowed to the very hilt the blade of a broad-sword, blunted in the edges and point, and about eighteen inches long, which I absolutely felt in his stomach : the other was done by the same man, who swallowed a complete horse's tail of about two feet long, introducing it into his mouth by the lower end, and gorging it to the very stump without distorting a feature in his face, though the uneven hairs must have pricked his throat as they descended. This perhaps may not gain an easy belief, but I can vouch for it as an undoubted fact. These artful fellows are often considered as spies.

The Indians seem to have had but few ideas about architecture, or the powers of the *lever*, before the Europeans came amongst them. They had no notion of building any thing but a *pagoda* or Gentoo church of one or two stories in height : and the method in which they carried on that stupendous structure was astonishingly laborious

laborious and expensive. In place of erecting scaffolds to facilitate the raising of their walls, prodigious quantities of earth were heaped up against them, extending the base as they ascended; and at the same time keeping the masonry perpendicular by means of a plummet. Immense large stones were in this manner easily rolled up upon the sod to the very summit of the steeple; but by the time they had finished the pagoda it was quite buried in a mountain. They had no sooner however completed it than the earth was cleared away to the very bottom. In those times labour must have been very cheap, for a common cooly may be now engaged for eight shillings per month. I make no doubt but that these buildings were carried on by voluntary and religious contributions.

The manner of building those edifices is first by enclosing a large square space like a church-yard by a thick wall twelve or sixteen feet in height; over the principal gates of which are erected the steeples, or what are termed in India the *pagodas*. They are constructed in a pyramidical form, upon a base of about sixty or seventy feet square, and built in a style which, to a Gentoo, appears magnificent; but which we would consider as a clumsy mass of carved stones, heaped upon each other without judgment or taste. I know nothing that it resembles more than the steeple of a glass-house. In the centre of the enclosure is excavated a tank of about one hundred and fifty yards square, and twelve or fifteen  
feet

feet deep; the sides of which are lined with stone steps to the very bottom. A small island is left in the middle of this pond, upon which is placed a *swamy* or great god; over whom is erected a temple supported upon pillars. On great feasting days they make a kind of raft upon this tank, on which they paddle round Swamy, who is adorned with garlands and illuminations. They sometimes place him upon the raft, surrounded by burning torches, and row round the edges of the tank singing a kind of sacred music, accompanied by *tom-toms* and a harsh sort of hautboy. Various kinds of temples are also built against the inside of the walls, in which are deposited thousands of idols; such as cows, rams, elephants, vultures, and monstrous figures of fat men, with six or eight heads, legs, and arms, to each; and here also are stored all their riches, with the different implements used on their ceremonious feast-days.

What has been asserted by some authors concerning the mechanical genius of the Hindoos appears to me in the light of a paradox. They only prefer working from an European pattern, because they wish to learn something new in the way of their business, and that they may the more exactly please their employers; for I can vouch from experience that many of them are men of quick and sagacious parts, only requiring an hint to execute your pleasure. The *Trichinopoly chain* is a strong proof of their inventive genius. It is made of either gold or silver, about the thickness of a quill,  
and

and so nicely linked and delicately finished, that it is impossible for the eye to discern that it is not one solid piece of metal, although it may be easily twisted round the hand. This chain very much resembles a sand eel, when made of silver, and is worn by the black people round their loins. The one end of it screws into the other; and it is of such exquisite workmanship that, if once a link be broken, it can never be repaired.

The Indians are said formerly to have rigidly adhered to the different religious ceremonies of their tribes; but since their intercourse with the Europeans they have become more relaxed in those duties, particularly the military casts. The great inconvenience attending such absurd ideas in the field induced the Company's officers to labour at a reformation, and eradicate from the minds of the sepoys their superstitious principles. Formerly none but Rajahpoots, Moormen, and Pitans, were permitted to carry arms; but the Europeans have since shewn that rigid discipline will make a foldier of a Pariar, the lowest of all casts; and now men of every tribe are indiscriminately enlisted for sepoys in the Company's service.

None should judge of the stature and appearance of the East-Indians from those wretched outcasts, who, to our disgrace, are seen begging in such swarms upon the streets of London, they  
 5 being



being in general a stout handsome race of people. I am informed that the Moormen, and Hindoos of Bengal in particular, are of a very gigantic size, none being admitted into the battalions under six feet high. Six feet four and five inches is the common stature of their grenadier companies; and they are withal extremely brawny and robust. An haughty pride, jealousy, and revenge, are their predominant passions. In the heat of anger they use very abusive language, but seldom are guilty of any violence.

LETTER

## L E T T E R    VIII.

Pondamalee, April 1780.

WE have lately been present at some of the Indian feasts, which are here both frequent and splendid, in honour of some idol, upon the celebration of marriage, or in commemoration of the exploits of their departed heroes, who are regarded as deities by these unhappy idolaters. I have seen upwards of thirty thousand people assembled upon such occasions. Both men and women vie with each other at those festivals in the adornment of their persons with jewels, and their faces with cow-dung and saffron, which are as much in vogue with the ladies here as rouge is with those in France. The principal amusement at these entertainments are fireworks, in which they are very dexterous. An harsh kind of music from a tom-tom or drum, accompanied by a loud rustic pipe, sounds from different parties throughout the throng, while expert cudgelers exhibit in the style of ancient gladiators, and dancing girls who display amazing agility and grace in all their motions. These women stroll about the country in quest of employment, and are

L

allowed

allowed to dispose of themselves to the opposite sex at pleasure. Some great men also entertain companies of them for the amusement of their concubines in the zenana. Six or eight girls compose a troop: they are very gaudily dressed, and ornamented with jewels and other precious stones set in rings, that are worn in the nostrils, round the neck and arms, and also upon the ancles and toes; having small tinkling bells fixed to their ancles and elbows, which I think have rather an unpleasing effect. When these damsels begin a dance they do not hop and skip like our stage dancers in England, but strive, by slow and graceful motions, to display the agility and elegance of their bodies and limbs, which are formed by nature in the most perfect symmetry. These they twist into the most wanton postures imaginable, moving in excellent time, though the music is never above one measure successively repeated. The dancers also accompany the music with amorous songs and a palpitacion or heaving of the bosom, calculated to excite in the spectators correspondent desires. In this they are generally very successful, continuing their lascivious gestures till, by the force of imagination and the heat of exercise, they become almost frantic with ecstacy, and sink down in the most inviting attitudes motionless with fatigue. The conclusion of this scene it is unnecessary to describe. Where the passions rage in their utmost violence such opportunities of indulgence are not to be lost.

In

In this carnival some parties are also seen sitting round a few glimmering lamps listening with much attention to the caterwauling of an old bard, who rehearſes in ſong the exploits of their anceſtors; whilſt others are entertained by conjurors, buffoons, and faquiers. But that which delights them moſt of all is dragging through the multitude a triumphal car of an immenſe ſize, upon which is placed a wooden ſteeple of a pagoda in miniature, finely ornamented with all kinds of flowers, and grandly illuminated with lamps and torches. It is ſupported upon four large wheels at leaſt three feet broad in the rim, and in it is placed a coloffal fat figure of a god, ſitting upon a throne with a crown upon his head. This grand parade, being reſerved to the laſt, does not take place until three or four o'clock in the morning, the multitude in the mean time contenting themſelves with gazing at Swamy in utter aſtoniſhment and admiration. No leſs than a thouſand people at a time are appointed to drag the machine, paſſing with it in triumph through every ſtreet in the town; and the being yoked to this vehicle they conſider as diſcharging an important ſhare of their religious duties. The whole town being thus finely illuminated makes a ſplendid appearance, until the dawn of day puts an end to the revelry.

One moonlight evening, as I walked with a companion in the environs of this garrifon, we fauntered towards a blazing fire



surrounded by a number of black people, who made a doleful and melancholy noise with an uncommon kind of instrument. As we approached them our noses were sharply assailed by a favoury smell, somewhat like that of broiled bones or mutton chops; which led us to imagine that a sumptuous feast was going on:—but how great was our astonishment to find them, upon a nearer inspection, a few select friends convened for the purpose of reducing to ashes the body of a deceased relation! The corps was stretched at full length upon a number of burning faggots. As the flesh was consuming it made a hissing noise, whilst all the friends were singing a mournful ditty accompanied by the tom-tom, their most favourite instrument, and a prodigious large trumpet made expressly for this purpose; from which issued a groaning sound sufficient to impress the mind with an idea of the last trumpet. Burning the dead is an universal practice all over this country, excepting with the Mahometans, who bury theirs as we do.

If a stranger or any other person should happen to have his effects stolen from him by an Indian (which, by the by, seldom ever happens) he must immediately inform the *hamildar*, or head man of the district wherein the theft was committed, of its value, and all the particulars, who will instantly endeavour to apprehend the culprit. And such are the excellent regulations established by the nabob amongst his people, that, if the hamildar, or his constables, do not discover

discover the thief, he must restore the full value of what is lost to the sufferer; which makes them so alert, that, when any thing of this kind occurs, the offender very seldom escapes. Flagellation is the only punishment inflicted in such cases, besides the restoration of the stolen goods. I have never seen any thing like a prison amongst them: and crimes of this nature are so seldom perpetrated, that every person rests in the most perfect security, always leaving the doors and windows of their houses open the whole night long.

The face of this country is beautifully adorned with a variety of extensive forests, shady groves, and spacious avenues, which are a blessed recreation to travellers in this sultry climate, that would otherwise be intolerable indeed. But, as I am no naturalist, you must not expect me to describe all the curious productions of the earth in the minute and technical style of a botanist. Nothing comes from my pen but what suddenly strikes the eye of a stranger, with which I hope you will be satisfied, as the subject is of itself so copious that the attendance which my profession requires frequently obliges me to abridge it in many places.

The Cocoa-nut, the Mango, the Tamarind, Bamboo, Banian, and Palmira trees, are the most common productions of this soil. Plantations of the cocoa-nut are very valuable, as this tree produces  
many

many necessaries of life, particularly a refreshing kind of drink, called toddy, which is extracted or oozes from its branches. An inferior sort of this liquor is also taken from the Palmira tree. Groves of young cocoas have a pleasing effect to the eye: each of them is said to yield about five pence per day to its owner; nor do they require any attention or care after a certain age.

The banian tree is very remarkable, majestically towering with above all the natives of the grove. Nature seems to have expressly formed it as a counterpoise to the heat, for it is not otherwise serviceable. Its singular appearance conveys to one the idea of a superb amphitheatre. It grows first in one prodigious trunk, which rises perpendicularly from the ground, appearing like vast numbers of thick vine roots cemented together in a cluster; and, when it arrives at the height of twelve or fifteen feet, six or eight large branches shoot out horizontally from it in every direction. When these have projected about ten or twelve feet from the centre, younger branches, or fibres like small ropes, issue and descend from the lower part of their extremities; and in a few years reaching to the ground take root again; and, receiving fresh nourishment and vigour grow to a large size, shooting forth fresh branches in the same manner as already described. The main trunk in the mean time rises to a great height, and at certain distances discharges new horizontal branches, which generally drop

drop their fibres to the ground through the interstices below; and, if upon their descent they should happen to fall upon the lower branches, they join in the form of a knot, and incline to the earth in one united body. It bears a large green leaf like the horse-chestnut. All the principal avenues are formed of these stately trees; and the Indians prefer building their swamy-houses, mosques, and choultries, under their extensive shade, to any other situation. One would suppose that he had got into the body of a large gothic cathedral in walking through one of these avenues. The largest banian tree said to be in the Carnatic grows within two miles of Cuddalore, which it is affirmed can screen at one time upwards of two thousand people from the influence of the sun. Nothing, in my idea, could adorn the extensive lawns and policy of an English nobleman's villa more magnificently than the banian: and I think it would be worth the trouble of the curious to try if it will prosper in our climate, either from the plant or the seed. Captains of ships might easily bring shrubs of this kind home, preserved in large flower-pots in their cabins.

The foliage here retains a perpetual green, the old leaves never dropping until young ones are ready to succeed; yet it must be confessed that neither the leaves nor the grass wears that beautiful verdure so pleasing to the eye in temperate climates. Every production of this soil appears parched and burnt up, except-



ing the rice fields. The leaves are always covered with dust and sand: and the grass is either so short, or so long and wild, as constantly to have a withered or reddish hue. Hay is never made here, because the heat will not allow the grass to arrive at sufficient perfection; it is therefore pulled up by the root as occasion requires. And so astonishingly rapid is the vegetation to a certain length, that, in the space of one night after a shower of rain, I have seen a sandy desert, where not a pile was perceptible, covered with luxuriant verdure.

As yet I have seen but few of the cotton shrubs. They appear like an old bur-bush. I should suppose that plantations of them are scarce in the Carnatic, although cotton is the staple commodity of the manufactories of this country. Thorn hedges are sometimes placed in gardens; but in the fields the milk bush is most commonly used. It bears this name from being of a soft and porous nature, when squeezed emitting a whitish juice like milk that is deemed a deadly poison. All animals are taught by instinct, as men are by experience, to avoid it. An horse will have his head and eyes prodigiously swelled from standing for some time under the shade of a milk hedge.

A plant resembling the leaves of an artichoke, but ten times longer, more formidable and prickly, is placed in dry ditches of  
 forts,

forts, or other places of defence, and forms an impenetrable barrier, being so strong and pointed in every direction that neither man nor beast can force it. This shrub I think would be an acquisition in England, if the cold did not affect its growth.

This country swarms so much with inhabitants that the public and private roads are for ever crowded with passengers, like one of the principal streets in London. They are chiefly employed in the cotton manufactories and the culture of rice. The shady groves and villages teem with cotton-weavers; and it is astonishing to see with what simplicity they carry on their work, using no other instruments, to appearance, than three or four pieces of sticks, with which they finish a web in the course of a fortnight. Instead of a loom they extend the yarn from one tree to another while the web is weaving.

Their manner of agriculture is equally simple, though perhaps not so consistent with propriety. The plough is a plain machine with only one handle to it, and dragged by a single bullock or buffalo, never turning up above two or three inches of the ground. The rice is removed from its first bed, and transplanted into regular drills, after the stem has grown about six inches long. It is then left to a bountiful Providence, who does more for them in this part of the world than their indolence merits. A pump, situated

M

upon

upon an eminence, and worked the whole day by two men, who count every bucket of water they throw out in a song, is allotted to every three or four fields for watering them through the day. Every field is furrounded by a low bank ; and channels of communication are made from the pump to each of them, which are in the day-time constantly overflowed.

In traversing these regions one does not find inns at proper stations upon the roads as in Europe. Here it is customary for all persons to carry their servants and provisions along with them ; and they put up in apartments called *choultries*, which are built in convenient situations upon the roads, and in the vicinity of towns, for the accommodation of passengers during the night, or the most sultry part of the day ; for none travel here, unless obliged to it by necessity, when the sun approaches his meridian. These habitations are, for the most part, built from charitable motives by the opulent Gentoos or Moormen, as a convenience for the wearied traveller. They think in this with some Roman Catholics, who imagine that, by the erection of a public monastery before their death, they atone for a life of sin. This proves their consciousness of frailty, and dread of the vengeance of a Supreme Being. Choultries are generally constructed in the form of a square, with the face open towards the north, and flat on the top. On the shady side of the most magnificent several piazzas project, supported

ported upon pillars, one without another, through which you ascend by a flight of steps to the inner apartment, where the passenger repofes; his fervants, if he has any, taking their stations in the *verranda* or outer hall. A tank of water is always to be found in the neighbourhood of these inns. The poor natives generally give way to the rich, and all thofe to an European gentleman, if he choofes to exact that deference.



## LETTER IX.

Pondamalee, May 1789.

SINCE our regiment has been quartered in this garrison we have been frequently visited by horse-jockies; who, for artifice and imposition, are equal to any in that line at New-market. Horses are of double the value here to what they are in England. Handsome but very wild, an European even of skill is almost afraid to mount one of them; for the Moormen, who are always the horse-dealers, delight in teaching them the most vicious pranks. A black horse is seldom to be met with; the most common colours being duns, light and dark bays, greys and piebalds. It is difficult to match them for the cavalry, and equally so to train them for war.

The Moors have a very singular method of fattening their horses for sale. Could you or any other European suppose a sheep's head to be the chief food used for that purpose? This however is absolutely the case. The head is boiled until the flesh parts freely from the bone: the flesh is then made up into balls mixed with  
cooling

cooling spices, and put into his *gram* (a small kind of pulse universally used instead of oats) twice or three times a day: and this process is concluded by a dose of *marfall* or purgative spices regularly once a fortnight administered to him. From skin and bone, this kind of food will render an horse, in less than two months, perfectly plump; but his flesh, though it looks well, will be found of a flabby texture. It generally answers, however, the purpose of the seller; and, if the buyer takes care to feed him well upon harder food for a few months afterwards, he will soon bring his horse to a firm condition.

When a jockey brings forth his horse to be viewed for sale he has him handsomely caparisoned with cloth housings, and ornamented with party-coloured trappings. His mouth is managed by a strong iron bit, made in the form of a *cheveaux de frize*, the least touch of which sets him upon his mettle, and pricks him to such a degree that he gets quite enraged almost as soon as he is mounted: yet the rider has by the force of this machine the entire command over him, either bringing him at full gallop to a sudden stop, or turning him whither he pleases. In this manner the jockey makes him prance about and cut dexterous capers, occasionally chiding him in the Moorish language, until the animal becomes quite animated and warm, when all at once he sets off at full career to the distance of about a quarter of a mile and back again; and then the artful horseman

horseman draws up his foaming steed for your approbation. These horses are ungovernable with a common English bit; and an European in managing the Moorish bridle is very apt to make the horse rear and fall back, which indeed they are ready to do upon all occasions. An horse is seldom to be met with that has not some particular blemish in his limbs, occasioned by the harsh treatment they receive from these Indians; nor have they, in the jockey phrase, any mouth.

It is prudent in any gentleman that means to purchase an horse from one of those fellows, after being fully satisfied that he is sound, to get a trial of him for some days with the English bridle and saddle, which the owner will readily grant if the horse be really good for any thing, as he may have some concealed vicious habit that at first sight is not to be discovered: but I would advise the rider to be very wary when at practice.

Elephants and camels are animals of too much magnitude and importance in this country any longer to escape our observation. Elephants are of various sizes when full grown, being from seventeen to twenty feet high; and a young calf may be about the size of one of our largest fat oxen in England. It is really curious to see the clumsy manner in which they practise the gambols of youth. As the extraordinary docility and powers of this animal are already

so well authenticated, it will be unnecessary for me to expatiate much upon the subject; I shall only observe, therefore, that they are chiefly used for two important purposes by the princes of this country, few else being able to keep them, as they are exceedingly expensive, and of value from fifteen hundred to two thousand pagodas each. The first of these purposes is for state-parades; a square tower called a *bowder*, capable of containing four or five persons, and handsomely gilt and adorned, being placed upon his back with girths like a saddle. They are also trained for war, carrying a heavy iron chain, five or six yards long, in their trunks, which they are taught to wield amongst the ranks in a furious manner, and to trample upon all that come in their way. The other important services which they perform are the carrying loads that no animals but themselves can move; such as the tents of an army, cannon, or other unwieldy military stores. The elephant is trained to lie down upon his belly at command, in order to be loaded with facility, and then rises cautiously up again, supporting a load fit for a small stage-waggon upon the English road. One man only guides him sitting cross-legged upon his neck; and with an instrument like a small pick-axe, and a language understood by both parties, turns him at pleasure by two or three strokes of this hammer upon a certain tender part on the top of the elephant's head. When the monster stands he is mounted by a ladder, or climbing up by his tail; and he will sometimes bend his



his knee a little for a person to ascend over his shoulders. His ears seem more out of proportion than any other part of his body, being as large as, and much resembling, an overgrown scate-fish, which they constantly flap about to keep off the flies. The pace of the elephant seems slow; but he nevertheless makes very considerable way; and, when put to it, can get into a kind of lounging trot. He is fed upon straw, or the branches of trees and brushwood. I have seen one of them eat three or four trusses of straw to his breakfast, without being satisfied: and it is surprising to see with what cleanliness he draws and prepares the straw with his trunk or snout, in which his sensitive power is really incredible. Let him be placed for refreshment at the root of a common sized tree, and he will perfectly denude it with his proboscis. It should seem that the entrails of an elephant are formed upon a simpler construction than those of any other animal; for the food undergoes very little change in passing through his stomach, his ordure being a mere lump of chewed sticks and straw; and this seems the more likely, as his keeper is obliged to administer a bolus of emollient spices regularly every night to facilitate digestion. Contrary to the nature of all other animals, such is their modesty, that they embrace the means of propagation up to their necks in water for fear of being seen.

To shew the impression that the reproof of his keeper makes upon the elephant, they tell an extraordinary story of one in the late

late wars that was brought to raise a twenty-four pounder out of a flough with his trunk, with which, though in vain, he made many able exertions. At last his keeper, having lost all patience, used many severe terms of reproach, exclaiming “ For shame! a “ powerful monster like you incapable of moving so small a weight “ as that! Exert yourself, or your reputation is lost for ever! “ Shew that you ought to have been by right the king of ani- “ mals—What! no more force from a hero like you!” And so on, until at last, finding his powers unequal to the task assigned him, and seeing that he could not effect the will of his master, the elephant overstrained himself to such a degree that, in a fit of chagrin and despair, he dropped dead upon the spot. For the truth of this I cannot vouch, but it has been related to me as a fact.

Camels are also used in the army, and in other ways, for carrying heavy loads and going long journies. They travel best in dry weather, and will trot ninety or a hundred miles a day if sent upon an express. They are extremely vicious; and the keeper, or what they call a *camel-bircarrab*, lives but a short time, from the excessive fatigue of riding at such a rate upon these rough-paced animals.

Tigers are so ferocious and numerous in this country that some villages in the neighbourhood of hills and mountains are

N

obliged

obliged regularly to lodge their cattle and shut up their doors before sun-set.

During the spring months the climate here is tolerably cool and temperate; but at this season the barometer ordinarily stands at ninety, and sometimes rises to one hundred and twenty degrees. It is now the month of May; and the weather is become so intensely hot and disagreeable that one cannot, with the smallest degree of pleasure, sit down to any occupation, being under the necessity even at table of having an handkerchief placed on each side to wipe away the excessive perspiration. It is even with difficulty that I can proceed with this letter from the drops that fall from my forehead upon the paper, wetting it like a *billet-doux* from the weeping eyes of a desponding lover. Some people in this season change their linen three or four times a-day, which, in my opinion, is labour in vain; as that newly put on becomes as moist in one minute as the former; and the heat relaxing a person so much that he becomes quite feeble and exhausted before the operation of shifting is completed. Gentlemen are, however, sometimes agreeably refreshed in the morning by having several pots of cool water thrown over them as they rise from their beds; but this is only a temporary relief. Those who wear wigs most certainly enjoy this luxury in greater perfection than with the natural hair. An European must be very cautious how he bathes in the open air; for, before he can  
redress

redress himself, he is liable to have the skin of his back entirely stripped off by the sun; in which case it must be immediately anointed with oil or spirits.

The heat of the sun is not the only oppression felt at this season of the year, there being a wind which regularly blows strong from the land for four months without ceasing, that in the day-time conveys a burning heat, and during the night occasions quite a contrary sensation. I do not exaggerate much when I compare the feeling, arising from a gust of those scorching winds, to that of thrusting one's face into the door of an heated oven; and it instantly cracks the skin in the most painful manner. These gales are seen some time before they arrive, driving furiously from the west in great whirlwinds and tornadoes, raising, to the very heavens, sand, and every thing else which they encounter, in awful clouds and pillars of dust. They very much resemble those partial spring-showers, which, in England, frequently descend in a sudden manner from the hills: but such gales are seldom ever attended with rain. It is asserted that those land-winds are frequently so violent as to unroof houses and raise small cattle into the air. Indeed I have myself found it difficult to keep my legs when caught in one of those whirlwinds; and you know that I am not one of the lightest men in the world. When they are seen approaching all doors and windows are instantly barricaded,



obliged regularly to lodge their cattle and shut up their doors before fun-fet.

During the spring months the climate here is tolerably cool and temperate; but at this season the barometer ordinarily stands at ninety, and sometimes rises to one hundred and twenty degrees. It is now the month of May; and the weather is become so intensely hot and disagreeable that one cannot, with the smallest degree of pleasure, sit down to any occupation, being under the necessity even at table of having an handkerchief placed on each side to wipe away the excessive perspiration. It is even with difficulty that I can proceed with this letter from the drops that fall from my forehead upon the paper, wetting it like a *billet-doux* from the weeping eyes of a desponding lover. Some people in this season change their linen three or four times a-day, which, in my opinion, is labour in vain; as that newly put on becomes as moist in one minute as the former; and the heat relaxing a person so much that he becomes quite feeble and exhausted before the operation of shifting is completed. Gentlemen are, however, sometimes agreeably refreshed in the morning by having several pots of cool water thrown over them as they rise from their beds; but this is only a temporary relief. Those who wear wigs most certainly enjoy this luxury in greater perfection than with the natural hair. An European must be very cautious how he bathes in the open air; for, before he can redress

redress himself, he is liable to have the skin of his back entirely stripped off by the sun; in which case it must be immediately anointed with oil or spirits.

The heat of the sun is not the only oppression felt at this season of the year, there being a wind which regularly blows strong from the land for four months without ceasing, that in the day-time conveys a burning heat, and during the night occasions quite a contrary sensation. I do not exaggerate much when I compare the feeling, arising from a gust of those scorching winds, to that of thrusting one's face into the door of an heated oven; and it instantly cracks the skin in the most painful manner. These gales are seen some time before they arrive, driving furiously from the west in great whirlwinds and tornadoes, raising, to the very heavens, sand, and every thing else which they encounter, in awful clouds and pillars of dust. They very much resemble those partial spring-showers, which, in England, frequently descend in a sudden manner from the hills: but such gales are seldom ever attended with rain. It is asserted that those land-winds are frequently so violent as to unroof houses and raise small cattle into the air. Indeed I have myself found it difficult to keep my legs when caught in one of those whirlwinds; and you know that I am not one of the lightest men in the world. When they are seen approaching all doors and windows are instantly barricaded,

to prevent suffocation from sand and dust, and having every thing in the house rendered useless. I have been of a party when one of those tornadoes forced us to enclose ourselves in this manner, and to sit down by candle-light to dinner, which rendered the heat intolerably suffocating. Notwithstanding the manner in which the doors and windows were thus blocked up, the sand and dust was forced by the wind through many imperceptible crevices, and fell so thick upon our plates as to be taken up upon the point of a knife like pounded pepper.

The land-winds are lulled towards the evening; and before it is midnight become quite cold. This transition is reckoned very unwholesome; and if a person sleeps where there is a strong draught of air, which an European is naturally led to do from the heat, he will in all probability lose the use of his limbs before morning upon the side exposed to the wind.

Our regiment has found it impossible to wear the Highland dress any longer in this country; we are therefore now clothed in white hats and trowsers, apparel better suited to an hot climate: but I believe, notwithstanding this, that some of our soldiers would have braved the utmost rage of the Musquitoes rather than quit their native dress.

We

We were, in the beginning of this month, publicly reviewed at this place (Pondamalee) by the governor and General Munro, accompanied by many foreign envoys or vakeels. Majors Elphinston and Mackenzie were much and deservedly commended by the general, for their attention to the discipline of the corps, which that day mustered eight hundred men upon the parade, and made a very martial appearance. All who were present, even Hyder Ally's ambaffador, acknowledged that we were very fit for immediate service. But I am sorry to add that, since the review, the infernal land-winds have greatly increased our sick list, and sent many of our best men to their graves. It is truly melancholy to observe how quickly these fine fellows are cut off, who, in a more temperate climate, might render eminent service to their country.

Providence surely never intended that Europeans should carry their conquests thus far from their native shores; for their emigration hither is certainly meant as a punishment and scourge. No one, in my opinion, that could exist in his native country, would ever wish to spend the best, or indeed any, part of his life in this, were he once sensible of the difference. Even the allurements of wealth can be no compensation for the risks and hardships incident in a climate so foreign to his constitution, if life and happiness be his principal desires. The infinite perplexities arising in this ungenial region, and its vast distance from home, absolutely erase  
from



from a man's mind all ideas of zeal for the welfare of his country. Here patriotism evaporates through the stream of perspiration; and, when the native juices are once exhausted, he becomes an indifferent alien, ending his exiled being in misery and discontent. I much wish, my dear friend, that these reflections would be an inducement with my worthy countrymen, for whom I freely *perspire* as yet, to content themselves at home, and seek for real happiness where it is most likely to be found.

I doubt not, as you have heard so much about Indian opulence, but you are ere now impatient to know the full amount of our annual receipts from the Company. I have therefore subjoined to this letter a true statement of the pay and allowances, in sterling money, as granted to all ranks of officers upon the Madras establishment.

The Company's agreement with the king's troops, as recorded in their public letter which accompanied the seventy-third regiment in 1779, is, that a gratuity shall be given to them monthly, which, added to the king's pay, shall make it equal to their own; and that they shall always receive the *same pay* and *field allowances* as *any* of their own troops engaged upon the same service with them. His Majesty's officers are also to take rank of all those of the Company that bear the same commission with themselves; which,  
impartially

impartially speaking, seems rather an hardship upon the Company's experienced officers. Nothing, however, can be more flattering to the king's troops than this compact, if strictly adhered to; of which we entertain no doubt, conscious that our royal master will see every justice done to his own troops; particularly when serving in defence of such distant territories. And, permit me to tell you, my dear friend, it is a comfortable reflection to us (and what indeed I think every Briton should glory in) to be the subjects of a benevolent and generous sovereign, whose heart is ever disposed to redress their slightest grievances. What else could stimulate our zeal and inflame our actions in a disagreeable foreign country at the distance of ten thousand miles from home? Without such protection and support, be assured that military ardour would speedily decline.

The coins of this country are pagodas, rupees, fanams, and cash. The last is fictitious, like our pound sterling; but of less value than an halfpenny, six of them making only a fanam, worth about two pence sterling. Twelve fanams, or two shillings, make a rupee; and four rupees, or eight shillings, are equal to a star-pagoda as it is given for a bill of exchange upon London:—for you must understand the original value of a pagoda is only seven shillings and six pence, or forty-five fanams; at which standard the troops are paid: and six one-fourth *per cent.* or the odd six pence, is commonly

monly the difference of exchange which the drawer of a bill receives. But sometimes such is the demand for paymasters or navy-bills, that there is from twelve to fifteen *per cent.* in his favour. Twelve *per cent.* is the legal interest of this settlement: but we have here abundance of usurers, who make no scruple of taking seventy and one hundred *per cent.* with jewels in pawn as security until the principal and interest are paid. This indeed is a common mode of accumulating a rapid fortune in the East; but a certain capital is requisite to commence with. Some black merchants, that will perhaps clear two hundred *per cent.* in other countries, find it their interest in the course of trade to give this exorbitant difference; but in the end the military, who are the principal consumers, feel it the most. To this may be imputed the constant indigence that reigns in the army: for, although the pay is double what it is at home, yet the support of a thousand luxuries and extravagancies, which have been wantonly introduced into these settlements, bring it to the same end; that is, a bare existence. Economy is so spurned at and disesteemed, that the very utterance of such a mean word would be enough to exclude a young man from all society; without which you may imagine existence would become a burden in this ungenial clime: one is therefore obliged through necessity to conform to custom, however repugnant it may be to his interest. The only difference betwixt an officer in India and one in England is, that the one enjoys a little more style,

style, the other much greater comfort. It is however a happy circumstance for those engaged in a military life here, that their minds are for ever anticipating some advantageous change in affairs that may probably better their fortunes. It is natural for all of us to credit most readily that report which we most anxiously wish to see verified. Nothing is heard now in every barrack and every quarter but of war, promotion, prize-money, and batta, or, as it is termed in England, bāt and forage-money, which is here, in the field, almost double the peace allowance. These ideas of war originate from a report at present circulating through the country, and seriously alarming to the inhabitants, that Hyder Ally Cawn, nabob and general of the Misore army, who is reputed to be an able officer, but a turbulent neighbour to the Carnatic, is intent upon breaking with us, that he may have some pretext to join in the general conflagration which now threatens the East-India Company's affairs. It would appear, however, from the unsuspicious tranquillity of the Madras council, that the report is without foundation, though it seems to have raised among the natives in general an uncommon share of terror and dismay.



**STATE of the Subsistence and Gratuity \*, and also of the Full Batta † paid by the East India Company to their Troops upon the Madras establishment ‡ for a month of thirty days.**

As Field Officers are paid their emoluments from the Company's jaghiers, which often fluctuate, they are not here inserted; however, let it suffice to observe, that the allowances to Field Officers bear a good proportion to those of other ranks.			Subsistence and Gratuity.			Full Batta.			Total in the field per month of thirty days.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Artillery.	Captain,	-	21	0	0	19	4	0	40	4	0
	Lieutenant,	-	11	5	0	12	16	0	24	1	0
	Lieutenant fire-worker,	-	7	9	0	9	12	0	17	1	0
	Serjeant,	-	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8	0
	Corporal,	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Bombadier,	These are victualed by the Company when in the field.	1	16	0	0	0	0	1	16	0
	Gunner,		1	12	0	0	0	0	1	12	0
	Matrofs,		1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
Drummer,	1		4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	
Cavalry.	Captain,	-	26	0	6	19	4	0	45	4	6
	Lieutenant,	-	16	10	0	12	16	0	29	6	0
	Cornet,	-	13	9	0	9	12	0	23	1	0
	Serjeant,—	Victualed by the Company in the field.	2	16	0	0	0	0	2	16	0
	Subedar,		12	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0
	Jemedar,		4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
	Havildar,		2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8	0
	Naigue,	No batta allowed to these at any time.	1	16	0	0	0	0	1	16	0
	Farrier,		2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8	0
	Trumpeter,		1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
Trooper,	1		4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	
European Infantry.	Captain,	-	19	10	0	19	4	0	38	14	0
	Lieutenant,	-	10	10	0	12	16	0	23	6	0
	Ensign,	-	7	9	0	9	12	0	17	1	0
	Serjeant,	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Corporal,	These are victualed by the Company in the field.	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	7	0
	Drummer,		1	7	0	0	0	0	1	7	0
	Private,		1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Sepoy Infantry.	Subedar,	-	6	8	0	1	14	6	8	2	6
	Jemedar,	-	1	16	0	0	17	3	2	13	3
	Havildar,	-	1	1	6	0	7	0	1	8	6
	Naigue,	-	0	17	6	0	7	0	1	4	6
	Sepoy,	-	0	12	6	0	7	0	0	19	6
	Drummer,	-	0	12	6	0	7	0	0	19	6
	Buccalie—or a man that constantly draws water for the battalion,	-	1	0	0	0	7	0	1	7	0
		-									

\* It must be understood that the Company's established pay to their troops is no more than Government allows to the army at home; but, in consideration of the extra expenses incident to this country, it was thought necessary to augment their incomes to nearly double, which addition is called *gratuity*.

† *Half batta* implies a still greater allowance from the same consideration when in frontier or in land garrisons. *Full batta* signifies bat and forrage money when in the field: and the *full batta* is doubled when any of the troops march beyond their own territories upon service.

‡ The pay and allowances differ materially in each settlement.

LETTER

## L E T T E R X.

Pondamalee, July 1780.

It will no doubt astonish you to find that, from the state of tranquillity in which my last letter left this settlement, we are now struggling hard amidst all the horrors of war to repel the violent inroads and depredations of the Mifore army, which had long been predicted by the natives; although, unfortunately for this country, nothing but the dreadful calamities attendant upon the sword of a barbarian was sufficient either to forewarn or convince the Madras council of Hyder Ally's warlike preparations.

Here I should wish to delineate, with some degree of certainty, the real source of those broils in which the Company have of late years involved themselves; but, as it is next to an impossibility for one in my station to obtain a thorough knowledge of their clandestine transactions in this country, mysteries which I believe can only be solved by their original projectors, you must be contented with the prevailing opinions upon that subject throughout this settlement.

It may not, however, be amiss first to present you with a cursory view of the conduct of the Company for some years antecedent to their present embarrassments, which, though perhaps deficient in many points, may nevertheless tend to develop some of the secret motives by which they have been most commonly actuated.

It appears by the first charter which those merchants obtained from Government, that the chief object in contemplation from voyaging hither was simply a commercial intercourse with the Indians, which then seemed to be the summit of their ambition. After obtaining, however, a thorough knowledge of the meek and pusillanimous disposition of these unfortunate natives, the inexhaustible wealth of their country, the vast superiority of European tactics to those of Asia; and having also compared, with an envious eye, their own slow progress in the accumulation of riches by fair and honest traffic, with the opulent and easy acquisitions that a less scrupulous conscience yielded to the Mahomedan conquerors; they were soon induced, by such rapacious considerations, to blend war with commerce, so naturally adopting the policy and deceitful manners of the Moors, that I believe nothing but the act of circumcision was wanting to render them complete Mussulmen.

This

This change first began by augmenting their forces, and afterwards lending them out as mercenaries to either Mahomedan or Gentoo, as opportunity offered, eagerly however preferring the prince that should cede to them most *jaghiers*\* and money as a recompense for their services. By this means they soon became so formidable and renowned in arms as to take the responsibility of invasion, conquest, and innocent bloodshed, upon themselves, attacking the powers of India upon selfish speculation as their avarice and ambition dictated, and continuing wantonly to sport away the lives of their countrymen, until they had, by the most dishonourable acts of injustice and oppression, rendered the British name odious in all the Indian courts, and usurped the immense territories now in their possession, which at present take no less than a standing army of an hundred thousand fighting men to defend them.

The Indians in their turn made, from time to time, many noble struggles against the English depredators, in which none shone more conspicuously than the Marrattas under their different chiefs, and the Misoriens under Hyder Ally Cawn. But these, conscious of their inferiority, were often obliged, in order to preserve the balance of power, and effectually avenge their cause, to solicit the assistance of France, who it may be readily supposed

\* Territories.



never failed to embrace an opportunity of aggrandizing herself at the expense of Great Britain. This occasioned frequent vicissitudes in the affairs of the East India Company: but they are possessed of such infinite resources, both by sea and land, that they have hitherto contrived, more from good fortune than good management, to keep possession of their plunder. Yet I fear a period is drawing nigh, when they, and every other European intruder, will be forced to withdraw from the Oriental shores, and content themselves with the less splendid productions of their native land.

In order to illustrate what has been already said, I need only lay before you the following sketch of a war, which, without the least provocation or colouring of reason, has, ever since the year 1774, been waged against the Marrattas, with no less enmity than the Punic wars of Carthage and Rome. Prudence, in the supreme tribunals of India, was at this time unfortunately subjugated by avarice and ambition; and, regardless of the fatal consequences that might ensue from the dark conspiracies and threats of all Europe to humble the power of Great Britain in all her territories, of which the Company were duly forewarned, yet they strenuously persisted in persecuting the Marrattas and all their friends, until at last the Indians, fearful of approaching dissolution, were obliged to form such a confederacy in their own defence as now seems to threaten nothing less than annihilation to the India Company. Hence may  
be

be seen the real source of all our present calamities in the east. It was not surprising that every scheme planned in India should prove abortive, when it was affirmed that almost every council teemed with people so self-interested, and totally destitute of principle, that national honour, and the interest of their masters, were least of all the objects of their consideration.

The Marrattas are in the DECAN something similar to what the Germans are in Europe—an immense empire composed of many subordinate principalities, which were formerly governed by an elected chief, generally the most distinguished for abilities and valour. His title is *Ram Rajah*, or emperor, whose throne was established at a place called *Setterah*, in the very heart of their dominions. United under this head, the Marrattas were always deemed powerful and invincible in the eyes of all their neighbours, and are now the only nations of India who never were effectually conquered by the Mahomedans. At present those chiefs assume each an air of independency, yet still yielding a kind of tacit allegiance to their Ram Rajah, who retains the power of calling out their troops into the field when public service is required. This chief can assemble an army of three hundred thousand men upon any emergency. Was it not then absolute madness in us to have quarrelled with such a power, even if we dreaded no other foe at the time but itself?

Of all others the Marrattas are the most polished people in India. They are generous and hospitable both towards strangers and each other, even to a superstitious degree, these virtues forming a part of their religion from time immemorial. Plunder is their chief object when engaged in war; but they treat their prisoners with much greater humanity than might be expected from people of a predatory habit.

Some years prior to the present hostilities, the throne of Setterah was usurped by *Nana Row* brother to *Ragonaut Row*, or the famous *Ragoba*, who confined the real Ram Rajah in a neighbouring fortress; and administered government to the Marrattas as his *Paiswa* or prime minister.

When Nana Row died he left two sons, *Mada Row* and *Narain Row*; the first and eldest of whom inherited the station of prime minister, which occasioned great jealousy in the breast of his uncle Ragoba, who thought himself best entitled to the succession; upon the discovery of which, Mada Row, apprehending consequences, ordered him into confinement.

As this Paiswa advanced in years, he began to foresee the approaching dissolution of his family through the crafty machinations of his intriguing uncle, even though immured in a prison; and

and, being a man of singular humanity and benevolence, embraced the generous resolution of effecting a reconciliation betwixt Narain Row and him, both the objects of his tenderness, by causing his uncle to be released; and, in a most pathetic speech, committing his only brother to his care and protection; observing at the same time to Ragoba, that Narain never advised his confinement, but was always a strenuous advocate for his release; and that he hoped gratitude would now induce him to protect his nephew, who was as yet young and inexperienced in the world, from the snares and plots of his enemies; and also to advise him in the administration of government; all of which Ragoba courteously promised to fulfil. But this depraved and perfidious wretch displayed as much dissimulation upon this occasion as Mada Row did an honest and virtuous confidence.

In November 1772 the paishwa died, and poor Narain Row, who had just entered his twenty-third year, was cruelly cut off in a very few months afterwards. The heart of Ragoba was at all times callous to every impression of tenderness and gratitude, particularly when his private interest was concerned; he therefore basely determined to avail himself of the confidence that was placed in him; and, by one deliberate blow, secure the paishwaship without a competitor; as neither of his nephews at that time had any children born, although Narain's wife was known to be pregnant.

P

Accordingly



Accordingly he bribed three subedars of the paishwa's guard to assassinate Narain Row ; which inhuman deed was perpetrated in August 1773, when he was actually in the very embraces of his perfidious uncle.

The death of Narain Row was so much lamented, and the perpetrator of it so much execrated, by all his subjects, that a powerful party was instantly formed to depose Ragoba ; and, so successful were their efforts, that they obliged the infamous regicide to fly from his country. The Company, however, pursuant to their usual system of policy, readily afforded him a safe asylum in the island of Bombay, in consideration of a few pecuniary donations to particular people, and a promise of the most flattering concessions to the Company, which he had neither the power nor the right to perform. The Marrattas remonstrated strongly against this unjust proceeding of the Bombay presidency ; but, in despite of all consequences, they determined to protect Ragonaut Row : and it was in support of this miscreant that the Company first took up arms against these formidable states.

Pursuant to resolution, the Bombay troops soon commenced hostilities ; and, with a good deal of loss, reduced the islands of Salfette and Baroche ; and were carrying on the war with vigour, when some circumstances intervened that brought on a temporary reconciliation ;

reconciliation; and the following terms of peace were agreed upon and ratified in March 1776, entitled the *Treaty of Poonah*. It was stipulated in this negotiation that the Marrattas should cede Salfette, Baroche, and other districts in the vicinity of Bombay, to the Company; and also that Ragoba should be provided for by them according to his rank in a private station, upon condition that he should be immediately ordered to withdraw from Bombay; and that *ever* afterwards no protection or assistance should be given to him or any other subject of the Marratta states, who should excite the least disturbance or rebellion in that country; all which the court of directors ordered to be strictly adhered to, having regard however to the protection of Ragoba's person from violence. This last clause of intended humanity was in the end made a bad use of; for it gave room to Ragonaut Row to suppose that the Company had not as yet altogether forsaken him, more especially as he was *still* permitted to remain in Bombay, contrary to the terms of treaty. These ideas urged him to commence new intrigues, and foment animosities afresh in the administration of Poonah. His artifices were at length carried so far as to cause one of his most important partizans (and I believe the only one there) to whisper into the credulous ear of the English resident at the court of Poonah, that a most powerful party was formed in favour of Ragoba, and only waited the sanction and support of the Company to overthrow all his opponents, and speedily advance him to the supreme government.

This piece of intelligence, received with avidity, and at once credited by majorities in the presidencies both of Bombay and Calcutta, gave a sudden change to the face of affairs; for it was determined, without much hesitation, to espouse the cause of this treacherous vagabond afresh, in direct violation of the treaty which they had but a short time before so solemnly ratified. This conduct, however, very soon reduced them to the most disgraceful submissions; notwithstanding which the war was still prosecuted, until the enraged and much-injured Marrattas at last found means to unite all their discordant chiefs: Hyder Ally Cawn, the Soubah of the Decan, the Rajah of Berar, Nadiff Cawn, and many of the lesser powers, assisted by the French and Dutch, entering into an awful confederacy with them against the Company.

In November 1778 an army of four thousand men, attended by an useless number of followers, elephants, and an unnecessary quantity of baggage, was assembled at Bombay, to conduct Ragoba a second time to Poonah. It was, as usual, placed entirely under the control of Messrs. Carnac and Mostyn, civil field deputies, and Colonel Egerton as military commander; but the folly of trusting the operations of a campaign to a couple of *merchants* was so clearly evinced in the fate of this detachment, that the practice has ever since been abolished by the Company.

This

This army proceeded to the pass of *Kodichilly*, joined by Ragonaut Row with two battalions of sepoy, and six hundred horse, which he had raised. Here they remained a whole month, anxiously expecting to be joined by *Holkar* and others, who were considered as Ragoba's chief partizans; but, as might have been expected, no one appeared to support his standard.

In the mean time *Scindiah* contrived to unite all the Marratta chiefs in perfect harmony; and, placing himself at their head, held a consultation upon forming the plan which should seem the most eligible to be adopted in the present state of affairs; when it was unanimously determined, that, 'if Ragonaut Row had come with  
' his own forces alone, they should have received him, and given  
' him a share of the power as formerly; but since he came with  
' an army of English, who were of a different nation from them,  
' and with whose conduct in Sujah Dowla's country, the Rohilla  
' country, Bengal, and the Carnatic, they were well acquainted,  
' they firmly resolved not to receive Ragoba, as otherwise, in the  
' end, they should be obliged to forsake their religion, and become  
' the slaves of Europeans.' Upon this they exchanged oaths; and *Scindiah*, with fifteen thousand horse and foot, advanced towards the English, followed by forty thousand more under the conduct of *Nana Furneze*.

The



The Bombay troops now quitted the passes, and advanced eighty-five miles upon their intended route to a place called *Tulicanoon*, having been prodigiously harassed the whole way. Here the enemy collected all their force, and fairly surrounded the English camp, having also cut off all their supplies of provisions, and reduced them to such extremities, that the merchants, seeing this likely to prove a *losing bargain*, determined to effect a retreat, for which measures were accordingly concerted. Ragoba, in the mean time, seeing himself in such a dilemma, signified, in a private manner to the Marratta commander, that he would willingly join him with the troops under his command at whatever time he should think proper to attack the English forces. This exhibits a fresh instance of the perfidy of Ragonaut Row, and the folly of placing any confidence in so deceitful a character. The English, however, appeared to have discovered this piece of treachery; for that night they secretly attempted to decamp from Tulicanoon, taking Ragoba with them, and leaving their tents standing under the protection of two hundred Europeans and one battalion of sepoy, with eight pieces of cannon, to lead the enemy to believe that their whole force was still there. The Marrattas mean-while discovering this stratagem, with their whole numbers fell at once upon both divisions of the British army with such furious intrepidity, that it was with difficulty the detachment which had marched with Ragoba returned to the assistance of that left in the camp;

camp; and, although at last fortunately united, they were incapable of making any impression upon the Marratta army, which now pressed them close on every hand. An incessant cannonade having been supported for forty-eight hours, which had killed and wounded no less than two hundred Europeans and one thousand and two hundred sepoy, the English army was at last forced to sue for terms of capitulation. This the enemy readily assented to, and the firing was upon both sides ordered to cease, whilst Mr. Farmer, one of the Company's servants, was admitted to a conference in the Marratta camp.

This civilian represented, in the most humiliating strain to the Marratta chiefs, that they were only a company of poor unfortunate merchants, consequently incapable of conducting armies with propriety, who had inconsiderately espoused a bad cause. "We are now," continued he, "sensible of our great error, and trust for mercy solely to your generosity. It rests with you to pronounce our doom—Here is a *carte blanche*, write upon it what terms you think fit, and we shall be satisfied—Can I say more?"

Scindiah now arose, and in his turn delivered a speech that for moderation and good sense would do honour to the most enlightened prince in Europe. He first addressed his countrymen to this effect—That although they had it in their power to make the

most advantageous terms they pleased, yet it would not be advisable to do so at this particular period—"for" said he, "our making large demands would only sow resentment deeper in their hearts; and it will benefit us nothing to exact more than is necessary." Then, turning to Mr. Farmer, he added, "Let Ragonaut Row be with us, and the treaty between us and the English shall be strictly adhered to; let Salfette and our possessions in Guzzarat be restored to us; let the Bengal army return back; for the rest, let each of us act as stipulated in the treaty of Poonah in March 1776; and, lastly, let all these articles be written out upon the paper which you have given us:" which was accordingly done. It was also agreed to that two hostages, Mr. Farmer and Mr. Stewart, should be sent from the English camp to remain with the Marrattas until this treaty should be completely fulfilled.

All these terms being settled and signed, the Bombay army capitulated at Wargam on the 16th of January 1779; and, after delivering Ragonaut Row into the hands of Scindiah, the whole were faithfully escorted by two thousand horse to their own territories. But the presidency of Bombay were so enraged at the disgraceful fate of their army, that they basely refused to confirm this fair and honourable treaty.

At

At the same time that these troops had been assembled at Bombay, another army was voted by the presidency of Calcutta, to enter the Marratta territories from Bengal, in order to make a diversion, and co-operate with each other in the same pursuit. This body consisted of about one hundred officers and six thousand effective men, commanded by Colonel Leslie, who was ordered to penetrate fifteen hundred miles through unexplored countries, and to begin his depredations in the province of Malva, composing the chief part of Scindiah's own possessions. After he had proceeded, however, a considerable way on this expedition, in favour of Ragoba, a new thought struck the governor-general of Bengal: which might tend more effectually to a procrastination of the war, the object which seemed to be chiefly aimed at by those in power; and this was—to prevail upon Moodajee Booslah, the rajah of Berar, who was a Marratta by birth, and appeared to be the lineal descendant and heir of the ram rajahs (the last of whom, having died in confinement in 1777, without issue, left the crown vacant to the first that had courage to claim it as his right), to become a candidate for the throne of Setterah; in which he could not fail to succeed when supported by the Company, who now renounced the cause of Ragonaut Row, which, upon serious reflection, appeared to be too desperate to admit of the smallest hope of success. This new plan being accordingly resolved upon in Bengal, although not known for some time afterwards in Bombay, Colonel Leslie was



ordered to change his route through the kingdom of Berar, and there negotiate a new alliance, and found the inclinations of that prince; whilst Mr. H—gs opened a familiar correspondence with him upon the same subject, that absolutely had more the air of a love courtship than a public negociation. But, notwithstanding the endeavours of Colonel Leslie, and the extraordinary advances of the governor-general, the rajah, alas! proved cruelly coy. You now see, by the most unaccountable and contradictory conduct, one army marching from Bombay to place Ragoba upon the throne of Poonah, whilst another moves from Bengal to raise to the same exalted station Moodajee Booslah, rajah of Berar.

Whilst this negociation was going on, Colonel Leslie's army amused themselves with picking up a little plunder in the country of Diamonds, where the colonel died in October 1778, and was succeeded by Colonel Goddard, who also endeavoured to bring the rajah of Berar into this new scheme, and was empowered to conclude a treaty with him; but that venerable prince absolutely refused to disgrace his reputation by such an alliance, and secretly spurned at this instance of our depravity; alleging, as an apology for his conduct, that he was then in close alliance with the Marrattas; and that however slightly the English might adhere to treaties and solemn engagements he considered them as sacred ties which ought never to be broken without a good and substantial reason; and, as

a proof of his friendship for both parties, he offered his earnest services as a mediator between his distressed countrymen and the English, for the purpose of accomplishing a peace. This was however contrary to the views of the council, who had by this time been informed of the convention at Wargam, and were determined not to sheath the sword, let the consequences be ever so fatal, until they had wiped off the disgrace occasioned by that unfortunate disaster. Accordingly, whilst the Marratta army was encamped at Wargam, lulled into security by the treaty just signed by Mr. Carnac, Colonel Goddard resolved to avail himself of that opportunity to visit the Malabar coast with his army, in order, as was reported, to subvert the views of France in that quarter, but in reality to recommence hostilities, in league with the Bombay troops, upon the unfortunate Marrattas. Colonel Goddard, therefore, setting out from Barampore, made a sweep to the northward, and arrived safe at Surat in February 1779.

Here again some circumstances occurred that for a moment disposed the English to think of peace: and Colonel Goddard (who was now invested with the rank of general) was ordered to propose terms upon a new footing; but, whilst a vakeel was upon the road from Poonah for effecting this negotiation, Ragonaut Row, by some stratagem, found means to escape from his keepers; and, flying to Surat, arrived there before the Marratta ambassador. General

Goddard, very unaccountably, preferred giving this extraordinary adventurer protection, a third time, to a reconciliation with the Marratta states; which justly exasperated them so much, that it was a long time afterwards before they could in any degree credit the tottering integrity of the English.

It being again determined to prosecute the war in favour of this exile, General Goddard fixed upon another unfortunate prince, whose kingdom was in the vicinity of Bombay, to be an additional tool in his future operations. This was *Futty Sing Row*, rajah of a district in Guzzarat, tributary to the Marratta government, who was intimidated by a march of the English army towards his capital, into an alliance with the Company, upon such terms as they thought proper to dictate. These were—to relinquish his present valuable possessions contiguous to their settlements at Bombay, for other territories of less certainty and note which they might hereafter jointly conquer from the Marrattas.

Thus the allies commenced afresh their depredations upon the enemy's frontiers; and, after having stormed Ammedabad, the general advanced to offer battle to forty thousand horse and foot, who were upon their march to relieve that garrison, under the two great chiefs Scindiah and Holkar. When both armies drew near to each other, the Marrattas, despising to vent their wrath upon individuals,

individuals, nobly set Messrs. Farmer and Stewart, the two gentlemen who had been left with them as hostages for the due performance of the treaty of Wargam, at liberty, although their lives had certainly been forfeited by all the rules of war; desiring again that the English would consider more seriously of their conduct, and fulfil that treaty. General Goddard, however, proved inflexible; and this extraordinary act of generosity, that ought to have made the English blush for their faithless proceedings, was passed over unnoticed.

The allies now endeavoured to bring on a general engagement, and the Marrattas as artfully avoided it, contenting themselves with harassing the British as much as possible, and cutting off their supplies. General Goddard, however, with a detachment of about two thousand horse and foot, and twelve guns, in April 1780, fairly surprised the enemy's camp in the night-time, without suffering any important loss, although the Marrattas were very severely handled. Many gallant exploits of this nature were performed by the British army during this campaign, in which Major Forbes, Capt. Campbell, and Lieutenant Welch, particularly distinguished themselves; and whose gallantry certainly merited a better cause. But it would be encroaching too much upon your patience to continue a tedious detail of such unwarrantable transactions. It was not, however, until the following year, 1781, when a second army from  
Bengal



Bengal was sent to make another diversion in the province of Malva, which drew Scindiah thither with sixty thousand horse for its defence, when troubles of a most awful nature from Europe, and other dangerous quarters, threatened the Company, that a final end was put to those disgraceful wars. Lieutenant-Colonel Carnac commanded this last detachment that marched from Bengal to Malva, who, in a nocturnal excursion, completely surprised the whole of Scindiah's camp and took possession of all the Marratta artillery; which was followed by a permanent treaty of peace, that was at last *really* concluded and ratified by both parties in May 1782.

LETTER

## L E T T E R    X I.

Pondamalee, July 1780.

MANY have compared the military genius and character of Hyder Ally to those of the renowned Frederick the Second, king of Prussia; and indeed, when we consider the distinguished abilities of that prince amongst his cotemporaries in this country, and the intrepid manner by which he has established himself upon the throne of Misore, and extended his dominions, one cannot but allow the simile to be exceedingly just.

Hyder Ally first placed himself at the head of the Misore army entirely by his military prowess. A great part of that kingdom borders upon the Marratta states, which occasions a constant enmity betwixt these two powers. The Marrattas, being in former times the most powerful warriors, were always making unlawful encroachments upon the Misore territories; but when Hyder Ally came to head the troops of that nation against its enemies he soon convinced the Marrattas that his countrymen only wanted a proper leader

leader to make ample retaliation; for, by his prudence and conduct in the art of war, he not only drove them back to their own country, but considerably extended the Misore kingdom by acquisitions from the Marratta frontiers, which all the efforts of the latter have been ineffectual to retrieve. By these exploits he ingratiated himself much into the favour of his countrymen; and was particularly admired and respected by the soldiers under his command, for his singular address and intrepidity, although he was at the same time reckoned austere and arbitrary in his deportment. Hyder soon afterwards availed himself of this attachment in the usual Asiatic manner; for, upon the demise of his sovereign, the old king of Misore, he immediately usurped the throne under the title of regent and guardian to the young prince (who was then an infant); and has ever since assumed the supreme authority and titles of Nabob of Misore, keeping the real heir confined within the walls of Seringapatnam\*, who is occasionally exhibited to the public by way of shew or form, as Mahomed Ally, the nabob of Arcot, is at Madras by the Company, who, excepting empty titles, has in like manner been divested of every prerogative in the Carnatic.

Hyder now became a terror to all his neighbours; for, having united the talents of a profound politician to those of an able warrior, he shewed uncommon abilities in forming such judicious

\* The capital of the Misore country.

establishments,

establishments, both civil and military, in his dominions, as in course of time rendered him the most formidable and potent prince in Hither Hindostan.

As all great acquisitions in this country are made by force of arms, the first object with Hyder Ally was to establish a good army; and experience taught him, in the course of his frequent conflicts with the English, that European discipline was absolutely essential to that end. He therefore endeavoured, by every possible means, to allure to his standard military adventurers of all nations and tribes, but particularly the European artificers and sepoys that had been trained up in the Company's service, to whom he held out the most tempting rewards; nor did he ever want emissaries for this purpose in every battalion in the Company's service, as appears from the words of command, which are now given in English throughout his whole army.

By this means he soon brought his established forces to a perfection in European discipline never before known amongst the black powers in India; and his progress in tactics has been matter of astonishment and terror to all those who have ventured to encounter him in the field. But what at once shew the extended ideas and ambition of this prince, are his surprising endeavours to become formidable at sea. No art has been left untried to entice

R

into



into his pay our ship-carpenters and dockyard-men from Bombay and other places; and in this attempt the French and other European powers have been induced to assist him; so that the progress which he has already made in constructing docks and equipping a naval force is almost incredible.

The surprising energy of this man's uncultivated mind, (for he is totally ignorant of letters,) when compared to the rest of his contemporaries in power, is truly worthy of admiration. Who, but an hero born to conquer, would at once relinquish all the prejudices and ill-founded habits of his country, so foreign to ours, and so readily adopt whatever European improvements appeared most essential to secure his government, to extend his empire, and to render his name immortal? He is not only sublime in his views, but capable of seeing them minutely executed. His ends are always great, his means prudent, and his generosity unbounded, whenever proper objects offer: nor can any prince be more watchful over the intrigues of his enemies both abroad and at home; by which means he knows well where to anticipate hostile designs, and where to take advantages.

It is not then to be wondered at, if a prince possessed of so many great qualities, and so ambitious of fame and high honours as Hyder Ally Cawn, should behold his powerful neighbours the

5

English,

English, and their ally the nabob of Arcot, with an eye of jealousy and hatred. It can only be from political motives if ever he is at any time induced to shew them a fair face: for I have been told from good authority that he secretly entertains an implacable aversion to all Europeans, which he takes as much care to instil into the mind of his son Tippo, as Hamilcar, the famous Carthaginian general, did when he caused Hannibal to take the oaths of perpetual enmity against the Romans. Needed we then have doubted that he would openly declare those sentiments whenever an opportunity offered?—No; his reasons were too well founded ever to admit of a deviation from them: nor can he be blamed for breathing a spirit of patriotism, which is natural to every native of Hindostan, and originally inspired by European tyranny.

From what has already been said, we may readily conclude that Hyder Ally took an active part in forming the grand confederacy against the Company; and nothing confirms it more than his artful conduct towards them, ever since it was first in agitation. He has oftener than once, as well as the Marrattas, experienced English treachery and infidelity, which determined him, in league with the other members of this famous compact, to renounce all future connexion with our nation. But, although, this association had been first projected as far back as the year 1778, Hyder thought it prudent to suspend the execution of his designs upon the Car-

natic, until a binding treaty should be ratified and signed by all the confederate members, that each might perform his part in concert with the rest; for he had reason to suspect that some of them, from private motives, did not act with quite so much candour and zeal in the general cause as he himself did.

Meanwhile he used every endeavour, and sacrificed many private advantages, to keep his countrymen united in the same sentiments. No longer an implacable enemy to the Marrattas, he courteously solicited their friendship and alliance; and sent circular letters, couched in the strongest terms, to those whom he thought most hostile to our interests; exhorting them at once to form a league (in which he engaged to lead the van) and fall unanimously upon all the English settlements from the Ganges to Cape Comorin. He represented to them that, by this conduct, they should not only be the means of emancipating themselves and their unhappy countrymen from an humiliating state of tyranny and oppression, but have their names commemorated by all future ages as the glorious deliverers of their country.

Much about this period the sinister transactions of the French to alienate the Americans from their mother country, and also to sap our interest in the East-Indies, were clearly discovered; consequently Great-Britain was now forced to break the peace with  
France,

France, in order to subvert her perfidious designs. That nation, therefore, judged the present crisis a favourable opportunity of securing some friends in India, who might assist them to protect their settlements in that country from the superior force of the English. Accordingly one Mons. St. Lubin was dispatched upon an embassy to Hyder Ally, with an offer of the French alliance to co-operate with him and his friends against the English, which Hyder readily accepted of; and, until the war openly commenced betwixt England and France, which did not happen for some time after this, M. St. Lubin diligently employed himself in carrying out military stores of all kinds to Hyder Ally in a clandestine manner.

When the British parliament and East-India Company were thoroughly convinced of the hostile intentions of France, they boldly determined to strike the first blow in the East; and to reduce all the valuable settlements of that aspiring monarchy upon the Indian shores, with the utmost expedition. Government therefore resolved, as the Marratta war had already employed so many of the Company's troops, to send out, by the first ships, the seventy-third regiment, consisting of one thousand Highlanders, commanded by Lord Macleod, and a squadron of six sail of the line under Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes; in order to assist in the reduction of Pondicherry, and for other services in India.

It



It happened, however, that intelligence of this resolution had no sooner been transmitted over land to India, than the presidency of Madras found means to collect force enough themselves for that purpose, before the seventy-third could arrive; with which Major-general Sir Hector Munro quickly laid siege to Pondicherry; and, notwithstanding every effort of M. Bellecombe and his officers, the garrison was forced to capitulate in less than six weeks afterwards; and, according to orders, the ramparts of that extensive and beautiful city were completely levelled with the ground. The garrison of Chandernagore, in Bengal, was at the same time reduced; and a detachment marched from Madras, across part of the Misore country, to the attack of Maheè, upon the Malabar coast, which was likewise demolished. And, as at this time the three settlements strained every nerve to make General Goddard's army (then employed against the Marrattas) as formidable as possible, the principal part of that force was afterwards sent by the council of Madras to the Malabar coast, leaving the Carnatic in a state entirely defenceless, without any troops to guard the many useless forts that encumber it, excepting the nabob's paltry sepoys, and their avaricious commanders, whose duplicity soon afterwards proved fatal to the Company.

Hyder, it may be easily imagined, was not a little mortified at this fatal blow to his European allies, which struck such a panic into

into the pusillanimous minds of his other accomplices, and had affected their different interests so much, that all hopes of success in his magnanimous enterprise were for the present totally overthrown, none but the Marrattas now venturing to join him. But the aspiring genius of that prince was such, that misfortunes of the greatest moment, instead of depressing his spirits, tended only to increase the extravagance of his unruly desires; so that at all events (and perhaps through the entreaties of France) he was fully determined not to relinquish his hostile intentions against the Carnatic.

The march of our troops across part of his country to the siege of Maheè, which he considered under his protection, together with some other infringements upon an expedition through *Combitor*, in the northern part of his dominions, contrary to the terms of treaty in 1769, and other infractions of a more recent date, were considered by Hyder as a sufficient pretence for breaking the peace. From this time he never made a secret of his determined resolution to invade the Company's territories upon the first favourable opportunity; and endeavoured, by lively representations of the pride and perfidy of the English, to inspire all his followers with the same sentiments of resentment and aversion towards them which naturally fired his own bosom.

An

An ambaffador was upon this rumour difpatched to penetrate into Hyder Ally's defigns; which appeared fo ftrongly coloured by revenge, that it was eafy to predict the confequent event; and of this Mr. Gray faithfully forewarned the governor of Madras, who chofe however to keep it an entire fecret from the reft of the council.

Such was the perilous fituation of the Eaft India Company's affairs about the time that I arrived upon the coaft of Coromandel. Serious menaces, like thofe above narrated, were infufficient to excite the leaft concern or precaution in the council of Madras. It was customary there to treat all reports of the kind with contempt and difbelief: and fo much were the inhabitants lulled into a fatal fecurity and confidence from the ignorance in which they were kept by the governor, that whoever ventured to fpeak of the intended invafion with more confidence than the reft was ridiculed for his puflanimity in giving credit to fuch extravagant notions. But Hyder Ally foon convinced the moft incredulous that his threats were not vain; that he was a warrior to be dreaded, and not defpifed, as they had inconfiderately imagined

All the fubtle inventions of an Afatic were now employed by this prince to facilitate his entry into the Carnatic. His liberality in the diftribution of rewards and bribes could hardly fail of enfuring

ensuring him success. These were diffused all over the Carnatic in great profusion; and, I am sorry to observe, it was too much believed that such glittering temptations were not to be resisted even by those of our own countrymen who held the reins of government. This was indeed the sure and effectual method of accomplishing his end; for, should his arms at any time prove unsuccessful, he could, by means of an adequate *douceur*, purchase peace upon his own terms, even at the gates of Seringapatnam. He was likewise fortunate, much about this period, in acquiring an advantage which we severely felt during the whole of the subsequent war. No less than four well disciplined regiments of the nabob's cavalry mutinied in the Tanjore country. These first confined their European officers; and even threatened them with death if they did not immediately pay up all their demands of great arrears justly due to them by their sovereign, the nabob of Arcot. But finding that scheme ineffectual, their officers being in the same predicament with themselves, the whole with one voice abandoned our service, and went over in a body to Hyder Ally, who did not fail to receive them with open arms, and afford them every encouragement.

All things now seemed propitious to his design. The French promised him every assistance in their power both by sea and land. The black commandants of the nabob's sepoy in the Carnatic

S

garrisons



garrisons assured him of meeting with no resistance from them: and G——r R———d acted the traitor's part so well that a better finishing stroke could not be given to the general plan. He kept the council in constant suspense, giving them the most flattering hopes of a speedy reconciliation, until all was ripe for a change. His departure for Europe was at length the signal for Hyder to throw off the mask of tranquillity. Care was taken, however, before the traitor made his exit, to sow the seeds of dissension so thick in the council, that nothing could be unanimously determined upon; and they placed such confidence in his fallacious assertions that no intelligence whatever would be believed.

Things being thus arranged, Hyder Ally determined, without farther hesitation, to assemble his whole force; which, from the best accounts, consisted of sixty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, regulars and irregulars, and a hundred pieces of ordnance. Of the horse two troops were French under Monsieur Pimoran, and of foot five hundred European renegadoes under Mons. Lally, two experienced French officers.

Those troops appear differently armed. The horsemen are chiefly clothed in thick quilted cotton gowns, sufficient to repel a blow from any sword. They carry large and heavy sabres, that are almost semicircular, and kept as sharp as a razor: the most regular

regular of them also use pistols; but the *lootywallas*, or huffars, sling an old rusty matchlock, in the style of a carbine; and sometimes carry a sharp-pointed spear, about six feet long, which they throw with great dexterity. Others again of those irregulars use a bow and a quiver of strong arrows.

His regular infantry really cut a good appearance, being clothed in red and green, with different coloured facings, and armed with French and many English musquets and bayonets of a good kind. The *matchlock-men*, who are used in the manner of light-infantry, and guards for baggage or convoys, carry a long-barrelled gun, not wider in the bore than a small pistol, with a trigger which conducts the match by the slightest touch into the pan, which is covered by a slider, excepting when in use. With these they sneak behind bushes and old walls, and kill at a great distance, being excellent marksmen.

The matchlock-men are generally accompanied by *poligars*, a set of fellows that are almost savage, and make use of no other weapon than a pointed bamboo spear, eighteen or twenty feet long. When the poligars are attacked by horse they form themselves into a close ring, placing the matchlock-men in the centre, and pointing their pikes at the enemy. In this order they all sit down, and fix the nether end of the pike into a hole in the ground betwixt

their legs, whilst the matchlock-men keep up an irregular fire over their heads; and in this manner they will resist the most violent charges of cavalry, and sometimes of infantry.

Hyder Ally also employs some thousands of men for throwing *rockets*. This is a missile weapon, and made in the same form as those used by schoolboys, with this difference, that the stalk is a thick bamboo, eight or ten feet long, which has a tube of iron, from six to twelve pounds weight, fixed to the end of it, in which the fuse and powder are placed. In wet weather, or marshy grounds, these are set off flying in the air, and will reach to the distance of a mile and a half; but upon dry grounds they are pointed horizontally, and bound in a very uncertain direction, often creating great damage, particularly amongst cavalry and ammunition tumbrils.

Hyder's train of artillery is chiefly composed of French and Danish guns of different calibers, but most commonly heavy metal, which are doubly yoked with trained bullocks; and are as well and expeditiously served as ours.

Before I proceed farther, it will be necessary to make you acquainted with the nature and form of the mountains and passes which separate the kingdom of Mysore from the Carnatic. These do not rise gradually upon each side, as they recede from the level

of the ocean, like other hills, because the Misore country is at least two thousand feet higher than the Carnatic; consequently they resemble a flight of steps, by which a person ascends to Misore, exactly as one might mount from the ground floor of a house to the first story or terrace. Were it not that these are, at particular places, indented by rapid rivers and other natural excavations, they would have been an insurmountable barrier to the Misorians: but these openings, called the ghauts, or passes of communication betwixt the two countries, seem formed by nature for the irruption of those barbarians.

When Hyder Ally had marched the immense army above described to the verge of these mountains, opposite to *Shangama* pass, which leads into the Carnatic by *Trinomaly*, he called a grand council of war to know the general sentiments of his officers upon this important undertaking. Here his son and heir, *Tippo Sabib*, (a prince possessed of all his father's military genius, with no less abilities; and who is always deemed a formidable second to Hyder in every enterprise), harangued the assembly in a very heroic strain; and, like Hannibal in his speech to his army upon the summit of the Alps, pointed down towards the fertile plains of the Carnatic as an ample reward for their resolution and their toils. This being a sufficient testimony of his wishes, the hostile sword was drawn upon the 20th of July 1780; and these barbarians



rushed like an impetuous torrent through the ghauts, dispersing themselves all over the Carnatic, like herds of furious animals in quest of their prey, and committing every act of cruelty and devastation that it was possible for savage minds to suggest.

The forts of Trinomaly, Chitaputt, Arnè, Gingee, Chillumbrum, Caverepauk, and Carrangooly, &c. were all given up according to agreement; so that in less than fourteen days he possessed a chain of our frontier garrisons that completely secured the safety of all his convoys from the Misore country; and, before the council of Fort St. George could be persuaded that he had at all entered the Carnatic, his horse, with astonishing rapidity, penetrated the length of Choultry plain and the environs of Madras, surrounding many of the English gentlemen in their country houses, who narrowly escaped being taken; whilst he himself commenced the siege of Arcot. Ocular demonstration at last convinced the chiefs of this Presidency of Hyder Ally's dissimulation towards them, and of the late g——r's treacherous connivance.

The flying parties of the enemy's horse did us also the honour of a visit at Pondamalee *en passant* upon their route to Madras. Their first approach was announced about seven o'clock in the morning, by seeing all the villages blazing on every quarter within view of this garrison, and as many of the inhabitants as could escape  
with

with their lives flying towards us in immense droves from all parts of the country, whose cries and lamentations were distinctly heard a full mile off, being closely pursued by those inhuman barbarians, who brandished their bloody swords in triumph as they galloped along. This first scene, upon a nearer approach, presented to us all the horrors of war in their most distressing colours. Aged parents borne, like Anchises from the flames of Troy, upon the bleeding shoulders of their offspring, who were wantonly mutilated; mothers bewailing the loss of their helpless infants that had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy on the first surprise; and innocent virgins clinging for protection to the arms of their lacerated brothers. This was indeed a melancholy spectacle, which made the deepest impression upon our sympathising minds, as yet unaccustomed to such scenes of brutality and horror; but which a poor soldier must not only learn to behold, but participate in, with calmness and indifference. Such was the extreme terror of those inoffensive and unhappy people, that they never once slackened their pace until they found themselves immersed in the ditch of Pondamalee.

Major Elphinston, who commanded at this place, instantly detached a party from our corps, with a six-pounder, to protect the country people, and reconnoitre the enemy's force, which made them soon quit their pursuit and proceed to Madras; whither the

major

major also dispatched a courier with this alarming intelligence. The villages were all found reduced to ashes, and the streets strewn with slaughtered infants and decrepit old people, who had been unable to make their escape. Another party was also sent out in the night, with an intention to beat up the enemy's quarters; but they were not to be found.

## C A M P A I G N   O F   1780.

---

### L E T T E R   XII.

Choultry Plain, December 1780.

THIS rapid surprize at last roused the presidency of Madras from their unaccountable lethargy; and, as soon as they could be thoroughly convinced that it really was not a dream, they began to assemble all their scattered forces, in order to make the best defence that such a situation would admit of against this formidable invasion.

The garrison of Pondamalee being deemed the most central place for that purpose, a camp was ordered to be formed there under the command of Lord Macleod, who, it was at first intended, should lead the troops into the field. Accordingly, upon the first of August, about eight hundred sepoy and four hundred European infantry and artillery, with twenty pieces of ordnance, were

T

marched



marched thither from Madras and St. Thomas's Mount\* to join his Majesty's seventy-third regiment, which had at that time eight hundred effectives fit for immediate service.

These corps, after some days stay at Pondamalee, were ordered to the Mount, there to remain until they should be joined by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, consisting of two hundred European infantry, two companies of artillery, five battalions of sepoys, with ten field pieces, from a place called *Gomeraponda*, in the *Guntoor Circars*; and until Colonel Brathwate, with another division of two hundred European foot, an hundred European artillery, with ten guns, four battalions of sepoys, and one regiment of the nabob's black cavalry, should arrive from Pondicherry.

But such was the dispersed state of the troops at this unfortunate period, that, though thirty thousand sepoys are generally kept upon the Madras establishment, it seemed merely impossible to assemble many more than four thousand men in less time than a month; and even that number with the utmost difficulty, merely from the want of necessary precautions in the government: for here the military commander is so circumscribed in his power that he can only put in execution the will of a majority in council, wherein he has but one vote and the governor two. The most

\* A post within nine miles of Madras.

trivial operation cannot be performed without being first descanted upon in council, who assume to themselves all the merit of success, but who are ready enough to lay the blame of a miscarriage upon the head of a general, who has only been the instrument of carrying their resolutions into effect.

Disputes now arose betwixt the council and Lord Macleod respecting what number of troops would be necessary to oppose the enemy. The former, from their ignorance of military affairs, treated the matter very lightly, and seemed to conceive one or two battalions of sepoys quite sufficient to repel the whole of Hyder Ally's army; but Lord Macleod, seconded by Sir Hector Munro, represented that matters had been allowed to proceed too far to trifle now with an handful of men; and they both gave it as their opinion—that a formidable army was absolutely necessary effectually to rid the country of such serious calamities. Firm in this sentiment, Lord Macleod determined either to resign the command or that all detachments should be ordered to assemble at St. Thomas's Mount, before a march was commenced towards the enemy. The impatience of council, however, would not listen to a plan which seemed to them so dilatory; and his lordship was deemed an inactive man, because he would not rashly expose himself, his reputation, and his little army, to destruction at their inconsiderate request.

Colonel Brathwate's detachment had nearly seventy miles to march, and Colonel Baillie's upwards of two hundred; consequently it would take some time before they could make their appearance. In about ten days the first of these joined, without meeting with any opposition from the enemy; and intelligence was daily received of the other's approach. But every moment now shewed more and more the urgent necessity there was for the army to get in motion, as Hyder was gaining considerable ground against Arcot, and matters already began to assume a very gloomy appearance.

The nabob likewise became concerned for his capital; particularly as it is an established maxim with the Indians—that whoever possesses the metropolis is always considered as the supreme governor of the country. He was therefore urgent to have it relieved with what troops were then collected, and proposed that the rest should form a junction at *Congeveram*. This advice, though given by one whom the council had long been accustomed to consider with contempt, and which would probably have been slighted by them in a less desperate situation, they eagerly adopted and determined to pursue. Any scheme indeed that tended to set the troops speedily in motion and appease their own terror appeared to them a feasible plan of operations; for by this time they were seized with all that indecision, apprehension, and dismay, that might naturally be expected to affect people so completely surprised.

surprised. Lord Macleod was therefore urged to adopt these measures; but he was too much of an experienced veteran to listen to a scheme founded in folly and teeming with mischance; and made no scruple of divulging his mind freely in a public letter to the board for not being better prepared for such an event; and not having even that detachment, which they then wished so much to march, properly equipped for the expedition.

Advice at this time was deemed an insult to judgment; and opposition to all his lordship's measures was thenceforward resolved upon; which induced Major-General Sir Hector Munro, from a laudable desire to end all animosities at so critical a period, and forward the service of his country, to put himself at the head of the army, and acquiesce in marching at all hazards with the troops then at St. Thomas's Mount to Congeveram, about sixty miles west of Madras, where Colonel Baillie was ordered to join him as soon as possible with the detachment under his command.

Upon the 26th of August, Sir Hector Munro, accompanied by Lord Macleod, Colonels Brathwate, Fletcher, Harper, and other field-officers, began his march. His army, very poorly supplied with provisions and other necessaries for the field, consisted of nearly one thousand European infantry, three hundred artillery, with thirty field pieces and howitzers, and four battering guns (twenty-four



four pounders), three thousand two hundred and fifty sepoy, thirty European dragoons, and about the same number of black commissioned and non-commissioned officers belonging to the regiment of black cavalry, which had arrived from Pondicherry with Colonel Brathwate. The rest of that corps refused to march until they were paid up fourteen months arrears due to them by the nabob, which the council very *generously* offered to them in *paper*: but this they declared it was impossible for themselves or their families to subsist upon, and therefore demanded *cash*; which being refused, they consequently would not move; and, by this unjust and parsimonious conduct of the council, the services of this well-disciplined corps were lost to the army at a time when they could so ill be dispensed with.

In the course of this expedition we found Hyder Ally not the only enemy with whom we had to contend. When once launched into the field, the sun, whom Hyder might well consider as a powerful auxiliary, proved more formidable to us than whole legions of foes. Upon the first day's march the seventy-third regiment, from being unaccustomed to fatigue in such sultry weather, felt the fatal influence of that great luminary in a melancholy degree, no less than two hundred of the best men in the corps dropping down upon the road, quite exhausted and overpowered by his vertical and scorching rays. Their indisposition

was much increased by drinking great quantities of stagnant water, for none else was to be found, which is a dangerous, although grateful, refreshment during the heat of perspiration. This unfortunately proved fatal to many of our bravest foldiers, who nobly regretted, in their last moments, that their lives should thus untimely vanish, as the hour approached in which their services might have contributed both to the success of the enterprize and to the honour of their country. It must also have been a mortifying and affecting sight to General Munro to behold his best men (for the sufferers were generally of the flower of the army) thus snatched from him at a time when the fall of every individual was perceptibly marked by a chasm in his ranks. Notwithstanding these unavoidable misfortunes, this little army, consisting at its outset of no more than four thousand six hundred and ten fighting men, with thirty field-pieces, had not only to encounter with sixty thousand horse, fifty thousand foot, and one hundred guns, upon equal ground, but also to protect at least twenty thousand followers, with the baggage and provisions that accompanied them. Such were the unequal terms upon which this little army first sallied into the field.

After we had in this manner sustained a march from sunrise to sunset of four dreadful days (for it was impossible to move in the night from the confusion that our immense train of baggage and followers would necessarily occasion) the general encamped,  
upon

upon the 29th of August, on the west side of Congeveram, which elegant city, having been desolated by the barbarians, we beheld in flames as we passed through it.

Upon receiving intelligence of our motions, Hyder Ally, for the present, raised the siege of Arcot; and, collecting his whole force, advanced towards us with astonishing alacrity, having pitched his camp within a few miles of the British army, and disposed of his advanced parties so as to prevent us from foraging.

The country round Congeveram being extremely flat and woody, it was impossible to reconnoitre closely without cavalry; we therefore had no other means of observing the force and movements of the enemy than from the top of an high pagoda in this city, in which a telescope was fixed entirely under the eye of Major Kelly, a vigilant officer, who engaged to communicate, by signals from this steeple, every motion of the Mifore army with the greatest exactness. This indeed was an excellent expedient, when we consider the impossibility of obtaining the smallest intelligence through the numerous circles of horse that constantly surrounded our camp. Through this instrument we were, for the first time, favoured by Major Kelly with a complete view of the Mifore army, which undoubtedly made a most magnificent, though at the same time an awful, appearance. It was computed to cover a space of seven miles

in

in length and three in breadth; having an advanced post close to us, which appeared equal in magnitude to our whole camp. An impartial spectator, in beholding the disparity of numbers between these two armies from such an exalted station, could not but admire the fortitude and intrepidity displayed by the British forces upon this trying occasion.

As the siege of Arcot was now raised, it appeared our best policy to act upon the defensive until the intended junction with Colonel Baillie could be formed. Five days had already elapsed waiting his approach, during which time the enemy's horse incessantly hovered round the camp, cutting off every kind of intelligence from us; and became so very troublesome to our foraging parties, that a few nocturnal detachments were made in order to surprise them, which their vigilance rendered entirely ineffectual.

Colonel Baillie was said to be much impeded in his march by heavy rains; the bad effects of which our camp likewise very severely experienced, it having lightened, thundered, and rained incessantly for several days; which at that season of the year was very unusual and unexpected: we were, however, apprised of his being then within twenty miles of us, and that he had crossed the Trippasore river.



Hyder had no sooner discovered this, than he began to display his generalship by the most masterly manœuvres. He detached his son and partisan Tippo Sahib with no less than forty thousand horse and foot with twelve guns, to intercept Colonel Baillie, whilst he at the same time led the rest of his army towards our camp, and made an appearance of offering us battle on the 6th of September.

General Munro, having had, I suppose, no particular intelligence to the contrary, imagined that Hyder Ally's whole force was before us; and, as at this time it was thought imprudent to hazard an action until joined by Colonel Baillie, the offer was declined; although the general declared it to be his firm intention, the moment the junction was formed, to give the enemy battle, as the most probable and certain means of producing an advantageous change in our present precarious situation. But, lest they should draw inferences favourable to themselves from the general's resolution, and as Colonel Baillie was hourly drawing nigher, he changed ground, and took up a strong camp about two miles on the north side of Congeveram, in the face of Hyder's whole army, and upon the road from whence our friends were expected; all our superfluous baggage and tents being left under a sufficient guard in the pagoda of Congeveram. A large tank of water covered our left flank to the west, upon the other side of which, at the distance of about three miles, Hyder pitched his camp in order to watch our motions.

About

About noon on the same day a cannonade was heard at some distance, supposed to proceed from Colonel Baillie's detachment; and that night intelligence arrived from him, by the greatest chance, of his having been attacked by Tippo Sahib at the village of Perambacum, distant from our army about fifteen miles; that he had beat off this superior force with considerable loss; but had exhausted his ammunition and provisions so much, that, without a supply of both, he had his doubts of being able to effect a junction. This was the first real information we had received of Tippo Sahib's being detached from Hyder's main army.

In this position both armies lay from the 6th to the 9th, without any material occurrence, although in sight of each other. Here indeed night-fallies might have been projected, but by no means easily executed; obstacles constantly intervening sufficient to defeat all the schemes of the most subtle warrior. The first and greatest of these was a refulgent moon, which almost turned the night into day; and the enemy kept such an incessant patrol of cavalry betwixt the two camps that it was impossible for the utmost art to counteract their vigilance. Even those poor hircar-rah's, or spies, who attempted to bring us the least intelligence, generally did it at the expense of their ears and noses, and some even of their lives; a risk which at last no man would venture to run for any pecuniary reward whatever. The few country people

that remained in their habitations were greatly disaffected to our cause, having already given up the Carnatic as entirely lost to us. But, besides these disadvantages, General Munro was so circumstanced with respect to the preconcerted measures betwixt him and Colonel Baillie, for effecting the junction of their armies, that he would have been much to blame had he deviated from the judicious plan that had been laid down: and when we compare, with an impartial eye, the prospect of success with the disadvantages that might occur, it must be acknowledged that the general acted here the part of a very skilful and prudent officer.

In consequence of Colonel Baillie's information, Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher was detached to his assistance with the grenadiers and light infantry of the seventy-third regiment, the former commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant John Lindsay, and the latter by Captain Baird; two companies of European grenadiers under Captains Phillips and Ferrier; sixty rifle-men led by Lieutenant Muat; five companies of sepoy grenadiers commanded by Captain Rumley, and five more under Captain Gowdie, with nine camel loads of ammunition, and all the *doolies* \* of the army.

About eight o'clock in the evening of the 8th Colonel Fletcher left the main army, carrying orders to Colonel Baillie

\* Doolies are sick-beds of the army, carried in the same manner as palanquins.

that

that he should proceed without delay towards Congeveram, whenever this detachment had joined him. Colonel Fletcher was fortunate enough, from his great sagacity and knowledge of the country, to pass Tippo's army unperceived, although challenged by the enemy's pickets, and might have easily stormed their camp had that been the intended object; but, pursuant to his instructions, he joined Colonel Baillie at six o'clock, in the morning of the 9th, at Perambacum.

Colonel Fletcher had no sooner departed from our camp than orders were issued to strike tents and be in readiness for marching immediately, in order to co-operate with Colonel Baillie as soon as occasion should require. We accordingly lay upon our arms for the future, lightly equipped for a march, the few tents that had been pitched upon that ground being sent with the remainder of the baggage into the pagoda of Congeveram.

Colonel Baillie being now reinforced was in high spirits, and thought himself in a condition for resisting the whole of Hyder's force, should he meditate an attack. According to orders he advanced from Perambacum after the evening parade on the 9th, keeping his baggage upon the right flank, and his left towards the enemy. But he had no sooner cleared the precincts of his late encampment, than he was harassed upon all quarters by Tippo Sahib's



Sahib's division, which, opening some guns upon his rear, induced him to present the whole front of his line to that quarter. Shortly afterwards he was attacked upon his right flank, upon which he again changed his front to the right; which movement was followed by a fruitless attempt to storm some of the enemy's guns. These operations, however, retarded his march so much that he found it impossible to advance more than four miles that night, when the Colonel judged it most prudent to take post until day-break, I suppose that he might better see the position of his opponents, and the direct road towards the main army. But this proved an unfortunate and fatal determination, as it gave the enemy too much time to concert measures for his destruction, and in a great degree frustrated the concerted plan of operations betwixt him and the general, who had all this time supposed Colonel Baillie upon his march towards him; and considered the irregular firings, which were heard at different periods during the evening, as no more than the usual skirmishing betwixt armies upon the line of march. About twelve o'clock these distant reports had entirely subsided, and all was quiet for the night.

Some officers, who seemed not so well acquainted with the state of the army as Sir Hector himself, were now claim a degree of merit from having advised him, upon the noise of the firing, to move towards it without hesitation; which had he done whilst

Hyder lay encamped so close to him, his baggage and his small residue of provisions must have inevitably fallen into the enemy's hands, who, it is natural to suppose, would have instantly thrown their whole force between the British army and the city of Congeveram. In that case, we should have brought ourselves between the two formidable armies of our adversary; deprived not only of subsistence for a single day, but of every resource, as the country all around for many miles had been totally desolated. This was therefore a measure evidently too rash to have been adopted as matters then stood.

During this situation of the British forces, Hyder Ally was, with much diligence and cunning, concerting measures with his son for an awful attack upon the unfortunate Baillie. Hyder's means of intelligence were so multiplied and superior to ours, that nothing went on in either of our camps which he was not immediately informed of; and, finding that both our armies were in this perilous situation, he suddenly decamped about midnight, before it was possible for us to obtain the least knowledge of his intentions, and formed a junction with his son Tipu. The fires of his camp were left blazing; and two or three thousand horse and rocketmen kept hovering round our main army, in order to conceal his enterprise from us; and early that morning he laid his whole force in ambush behind the woods and village of Pollilore, a place that  
greatly

greatly favoured his design, being a commanding spot of ground, intersected by deep ravins and water-courses, and upon the only road for guns leading to Congeveram.

Next morning the sun had no sooner risen than Hyder was perceived to have decamped, and Colonel Baillie was heard to renew the firing with additional fury. The general therefore marched towards them with the utmost diligence and expedition: but, though now every strenuous effort was made to succour our friends, all proved ineffectual; for the enemy had struck the decisive and fatal blow before our army could arrive time enough to counteract their designs. As we advanced towards Pollilooore, the enemy's horse and matchlock-men were uncommonly active and daring in their attacks upon our rear-guard and flanks, which necessarily retarded our march a good deal; nor could we possibly hear the cannonading of Colonel Baillie's army through the noise of our own. Thus did our troops continue their route with all possible expedition till about ten o'clock of the day, when the firing ceased for a moment, until three signal-guns should be discharged from our line, which not being answered by Colonel Baillie, nor any firing heard from that quarter, although we listened very attentively for some time, increased our doubts and awakened our fears about the fate of that unfortunate army. The general, upon this, rapidly continued his route until about twelve o'clock at noon, when some naked sepoys, accom-

panied

panied by some of our own hircarrahs, fell suddenly in with our advanced guard, not far distant at that time from the village of Polliloo, who announced to us the complete defeat of that gallant detachment, and informed us that Hyder, with the main body of his army, had retreated to some distance with all his European prisoners. These unfortunate sepoy bore incontestable proofs, by their mangled situation, of this sad and melancholy catastrophe.

It appears that at day-break Colonel Baillie had continued his march, with every necessary precaution, from the place where he had taken post on the night before, Tipu's division keeping close upon his left flank. Whilst they thus continued their route for two miles through a large avenue no material damage was sustained; but, as the advanced guard of rifle-men turned off to the left on the road leading to Congevram through the village of Polliloo, Tipu Sahib ordered some guns to play upon them from embrasures cut through the banks of water-courses, which, harassing the line, it was judged expedient to silence. For this purpose an halt was made, and Captains Rumley and Gowdie were detached with two battalions of sepoy grenadiers to seize them, in which they with great gallantry succeeded; but the appearance of a superior force, rapidly advancing to cut off their communication with the line, obliged them almost immediately to abandon their prize and retreat to their former situation. Colonel Baillie, meanwhile, perceiving



a formidable force collecting before him, made a disposition of his little army, with the utmost judgment and coolness, nearly in the form of an oblong square, having placed the field-pieces at proper intervals, with the followers and baggage in the centre; but unfortunately upon ground commanded almost upon every direction. Soon after this had been done, they were furiously beset upon all quarters by Hyder Ally's whole army, who now appeared in sight, and, with Tippo's division, completely surrounded them. The colonel could make but a feeble resistance against so superior a force; but his little band yet gallantly supported a very unequal fire, until their whole ammunition had either been blown up or expended, which of course silenced the British artillery. Hyder's guns upon this drew nearer and nearer at every discharge, while each shot was attended with certain and deadly effect. Colonel Baillie's detachment, seeing their artillery silenced, and remaining inactive while exposed to certain destruction, very naturally became dismayed; which the enemy no sooner perceived than they made a movement for a general charge, and advanced on all quarters to a close attack. At this dangerous and trying juncture, sufficient to damp the spirits of the most intrepid, all the camp followers rushed in confusion through the ranks of every battalion, and in an instant threw the whole into disorder. The black troops, finding themselves in this calamitous situation, relinquished every hope of success; and, notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions of their European officers,

were no more to be rallied. But such of the Europeans as had fallen into disorder by this irregularity quickly united again in compact order, headed by their gallant commander, who was at this time much wounded; and, being joined by all the sepoy officers, planted themselves upon a rising bank of sand in their vicinity, where they valiantly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. History cannot produce an instance, for fortitude, cool intrepidity, and desperate resolution, to equal the exploits of this heroic band. In numbers now reduced to five hundred, they were opposed by no less than one hundred thousand enraged barbarians, who seldom ever grant quarter. The mind, in the contemplation of such a scene, and such a situation as theirs then was, is filled at once with admiration, with astonishment, with horror, and with awe. To behold formidable and impenetrable bodies of horse, of infantry, and of artillery, advancing from all quarters, flashing savage fury, levelling the numberless instruments of slaughter, and darting destruction around, was a scene to appal even something more than the strongest human resolution; but it was beheld by this little band with the most undaunted and immoveable firmness. Distinct bodies of horse came on successively to the charge, with strong parties of infantry placed in the intervals, whose fire was discharged in showers; but the deliberate and well-levelled platoons of the British musquetry had such a powerful effect as to repulse several different attacks. Like the swelling waves of the ocean,

however, when agitated by a storm, fresh columns incessantly poured in upon them with redoubled fury, which at length brought so many to the ground, and weakened their fire so considerably, that they were unable longer to withstand the dreadful and tremendous shock; and the field soon presented a picture of the most inhuman cruelties and unexampled carnage.

The last and awful struggle was marked by the clashing of arms and shields, the snorting and kicking of horses, the snapping of spears, the glistening of bloody swords, oaths and imprecations; concluding with the groans and cries of bruised and mutilated men, wounded horses tumbling to the ground upon expiring soldiers, and the hideous roaring of elephants stalking to and fro, and wielding their dreadful chains alike amongst friends and foes. Such as were saved from the immediate stroke of death were so crowded together that it was with difficulty they could stand: several were in a state of suffocation; while others, from the weight of the dead bodies that had fallen upon them, were fixed to the spot at the mercy of a furious foe. It must be remarked, however, that among the enemy there were some whose hearts were tinctured with humanity, but of too inferior a proportion to prevent the cruel ravages of the more numerous barbarians. Some with broken limbs were dragged round the fatal plains with unrelenting fury, while the heads of others were wantonly severed from their bodies, that the  
savages

savage executioner might have an opportunity of laying at the conqueror's feet that mark of his brutal triumph. Some were trampled under the feet of elephants, camels, and horses; and those who were severely wounded, being stripped of their clothes, lay exposed to the painful effects of a scorching sun, without water (the greatest cordial a wounded man can receive), and died a lingering and miserable death, becoming a prey to all the ravenous animals of the clime. Even women and innocent children were equal sufferers on this bloody plain. Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher and twenty-nine European officers, with one hundred and fifty-five European rank and file, were killed: Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, with thirty-four officers, and almost all the European privates, were miserably wounded; and sixteen officers and privates, from a divine protection, and the generous clemency of the French hussars, remained unhurt, who, with the rest, were all made prisoners. The whole of the sepoys were either killed, taken, or dispersed.

In a review of this melancholy and fatal event, that no imputation may fall on any individual, it is necessary to recur to the origin of the ill-concerted expedition. It was first suggested, as has been already observed, by the nabob of Arcot, (who was very naturally solicitous to save his capital), and eagerly embraced by the council. The only plausible reason which they could adduce in support of a measure of such singular hazard, was the impossibility



lity of supporting the army, when reinforced, in the vicinity of Madras. No provisions had been laid in by them ; nor the smallest preparation made for the support even of a force so inconsiderable. They therefore, without any consideration of probable contingencies, resolved upon sending out the army to forage for themselves, who were to be joined by another still worse provided than they were. Had Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie's detachment been ordered to repair to St. Thomas's Mount, as proposed by Sir Hector Munro and Lord Macleod, it is probable it would have accomplished the junction without molestation, as Hyder's whole army was then before Arcot. When united, they might then have had the ability to execute any judiciously concerted plan which might have tended to the relief of the settlement.

While I profess my admiration of the enterprising spirit of Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, and lament his unhappy fate, yet, as the melancholy period of his expedition will probably become the topic of general conversation in many circles of your acquaintance at home, it may be proper to point out to you, who are unacquainted with the nature of military operations, two circumstances which appear to have materially contributed to the accomplishment of this fatal disaster. His halting so long in the night, contrary to the instructions sent to him from the General by Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, was unquestionably an imprudent measure. The speedy  
union

union of the two armies was essential to the preservation of both; and, had he continued his route, this must have been effected early in the morning, in despite of every obstacle, which would have put the general in a condition to execute his intended plan of giving battle to the enemy, and opening a passage to Arcot, the only place where provisions were to be found. It seemed also a great omission in Colonel Baillie not to take possession of the village of Pollilooore, which was not then above eight hundred yards from his right, in place of indulging Tipu in his views of procrastination until his father should arrive, by drawing up his army on disadvantageous ground, and sending out detachments to seize guns that could render him, though successful, no material advantage. Even after Hyder's division appeared clearly to be in possession of the village, it may with reason be supposed that the detachment of grenadiers which marched from our army, led by an officer of such intrepidity and judgment as Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, (supported by the rest of Colonel Baillie's command under his own gallant direction, having their flanks properly scoured by the British artillery as they advanced), would have put him in safe possession of the village, where he might have made a successful stand until joined by the main army then rapidly marching towards him, nor ought the water-course intervening to have been considered on such an occasion as any material obstacle. Human nature, however, is never infallible. Events are educed by means which at the time are not equally perceptible

perceptible to all: misconception therefore, particularly when it leads to unparalleled suffering and disaster, is not surely to be imputed as a fault. The gallantry of Colonel Baillie was undoubted; his virtues were acknowledged by all; and his calamitous end must excite the sigh of pity in every bosom not wholly unaffailable by the accumulated misfortunes of another.

Hyder Ally had no sooner achieved this decisive victory, than he suddenly retired with his army, and as many of the unfortunate captives as could at that time be conveniently carried off from the field of battle, to a place called the Round Wells, about five miles from the scene of action, where he sat exalted upon a green bank, surrounded by many of his principal officers, to muster the prisoners, who were drawn up before him in a semicircle as they arrived.

Colonel Baillie, stiff with wounds, and many other disabled officers, were placed at the conqueror's feet, whilst he distributed rewards to his people in proportion to the number of European prisoners they produced. At the same time several European heads were presented to him; many of which their countrymen, perhaps their own relatives, were inhumanly forced to carry: but Hyder, seeing how much the feelings of their brother officers were hurt at this shocking scene, had the humanity to give orders that this practice should be discontinued while they were present.

Every

Every moment of this fatal day presented to our unfortunate countrymen fresh instances of barbarity and savage resentment. Some had been dragged to Hyder's camp, so mangled, so besmeared with blood, and covered with dust, that not a feature was to be recognised; some had dropped speechless upon the road from the cruel treatment of their conductors, who refused them even a drink of water to quench their burning thirst. Even the gentle little offices of humanity, which those less maimed might have shewn to their fellows, were cruelly interdicted; their savage guards buffeting and beating them with the ends of their firelocks on the slightest symptom of tenderness which melting nature might discover. Others were relieved from the excruciating tortures which they endured by a succession of fainting fits, until, by total insensibility, they finally eluded the unrelenting persecutions of their hardened guards. But if the condition of these justly excites the deepest feelings of human pity, those who were left bleeding upon the field of battle, both during the scorching heat of the day, and the awful silence of the night, merit our commiseration in a yet greater degree. It was the fate of many to lie in this deplorable state for upwards of eight-and-forty hours before they got the smallest relief. Amongst this number was one of my most intimate friends, whose melancholy situation will be best described in the words of his own letter to me, written soon after his imprisonment at Bangalore, and which I think will convey a striking idea of the sufferings of the whole.

Y

‘ I was



‘ I was much wounded, and left upon the field a real spectacle  
 ‘ of human misery, suffering every anxiety and distress attendant  
 ‘ upon such a deplorable situation. It was some consolation,  
 ‘ however, that a generous and humane brother officer shared the  
 ‘ ground with me the first night. He, not being so much disabled  
 ‘ as I was, rendered me all the aid in his power, and contributed  
 ‘ to preserve my then uncertain existence. This act of friendship  
 ‘ I shall ever acknowledge with the warmest gratitude; and as the  
 ‘ gentleman and I were until then entire strangers to each other  
 ‘ it makes me prize his benevolence the more. My kind pro-  
 ‘ tector was at last separated from me on the morning after the  
 ‘ action, and promised, if possible, to send me some assistance; but  
 ‘ that, alas! was entirely out of his power.

‘ The sensations which I now felt are hardly to be described,  
 ‘ as I lay perfectly naked upon a scorching bank of sand, and  
 ‘ quite faint with the loss of blood. Both of my arms were miserably  
 ‘ shattered, and my back severely wounded; it was therefore im-  
 ‘ possible for me either to walk or crawl. So intense and craving  
 ‘ was my thirst, that, after many feeble and vain attempts to moisten  
 ‘ my parched mouth with herbs and grass, necessity at last forced  
 ‘ me to have recourse to the moisture of my own body. All  
 ‘ prospects of relief were by this time very uncertain, so that to  
 ‘ drag out a painful existence, without food or drink, seemed now  
 ‘ to be my most probable doom. The dismal fate of many then  
 ‘ around

‘ around me, the dead bodies, and distorted countenances of those  
 ‘ suffering in the agonizing moment, tended all to confirm me in  
 ‘ this disconsolate opinion. An awful darkness now came on, and  
 ‘ gloomy horror reigned triumphant. The groans, the plainings,  
 ‘ and supplications, of the dying; the ravages and howlings of  
 ‘ jackals; the distant peals of thunder and incessant torrents of rain;  
 ‘ all conspired to disturb the silence of night and increase my  
 ‘ afflictions.

‘ At last, as it drew towards morning, extreme despair hushed  
 ‘ my sorrows into a melancholy calm and entire resignation to  
 ‘ the will of the Almighty, expecting that a few hours more  
 ‘ would see me at rest, and ease me from every misery of this painful  
 ‘ existence; but I had no sooner composed myself for this desirable  
 ‘ event, than some of the enemy, who had been ordered by Hyder  
 ‘ to examine the field of battle, perceived me, and that I still lived.  
 ‘ Those people, being possessed of some share of humanity, gently  
 ‘ raised me from the ground; and, finding that I was in a most  
 ‘ helpless situation, carried me off upon their shoulders. From  
 ‘ weakness and severe pain, I continued in a state of insensibility,  
 ‘ relapsing from one fainting fit into another for a considerable  
 ‘ time: at last, in some measure recovering from this state of  
 ‘ stupefaction, I had the mortification to behold myself an humble  
 ‘ captive in the enemy’s camp, where however I enjoyed the

‘ inexpressible pleasure of beholding my generous benefactor, and  
 ‘ many of the officers who had been carried prisoners off the field.  
 ‘ Even amidst the direful pangs of adverse fortune, it is the first  
 ‘ of consolations to enjoy the company of our friends; but, when  
 ‘ in captivity with barbarians, the very sight of a Briton yields  
 ‘ a pleasure that none but those of our countrymen who have  
 ‘ experienced it can properly describe.’

At a time when prisoners of war in other countries consider  
 their misfortunes at an end by falling into the power of a generous  
 foe, in whose camp the unfortunate never fail to meet with sym-  
 pathy and respect, the miseries of our unhappy countrymen were  
 yet but in their rise. In the merciless hands of barbarous Mahome-  
 dans, persecutors of their religion and of their colour, inured to  
 cruelties, and utter strangers to humanity, how dreary was the  
 prospect which opened to their view! Their conquerors, swayed  
 only by the blackest passions of the human heart, exhausted every  
 art that might tend to humiliate and depress the agonized feelings  
 of their British prisoners. Smarting with the excruciating pain  
 of undressed wounds, their spirits sinking under the repeated indig-  
 nities and abuse which they hourly experienced; and not only  
 denied the common necessities of life, but stripped of every covering  
 to shield them from the vicissitudes of the climate; their gloomy  
 minds could suggest ideas only of perpetual slavery, of eternal sepa-  
 ration

ration from each other, their country and their friends. Human misery I believe has seldom attained so afflicting a crisis. Wounded alike in body and in mind, the termination of existence seemed the only good that was left them, and the fate of those who had perished upon the bloody field appeared to them to be equally happy and enviable.

Under this load of sorrow, of apprehension, and of suffering, they remained for some days in the enemy's camp, when they were removed to Arcot and Arnè. From thence the whole were soon afterwards marched in an ignominious manner to Seringapatnam, Bangalore, and other remote garrisons in the Misore country, escorted by a strong guard, who led them round every little village on the road, as a public testimony of their heroic exploits.

In the course of this march they were dreadfully exposed, from their naked condition, to the violence of the sun. They were so severely scorched that none could enjoy the least repose, but those who, by good fortune, had procured a little oil with which they might anoint their bodies. To complete their miseries, upon their arrival at the prisons appointed for them, their legs and arms were loaded with heavy irons and they were immured in horrid dungeons, where, during a wretched captivity, the treatment which they had to anticipate was such as hardly to be paralleled in the



black annals of Asiatic cruelty. Such was the fate of this brave but unfortunate detachment. With the tear of commiseration starting involuntarily from my eye, I turn to the continuation of this melancholy period of my narrative.

The dreadful account of the defeat of Lieutenant-colonel Baillie's detachment circulated like wild-fire through the main army, and threw a visible damp upon the spirits of the whole. General Munro perceiving this, and concluding that it would be vain for him to proceed further against an enemy so powerful and rapid in their motions, totally destitute as he then was of provisions and other necessary stores, and not having the smallest conception of the forlorn situation in which many of the unfortunate sufferers had been left upon the field of battle, wisely judged a retreat to Congeveram, where he had left all the baggage and stores of his army, the most prudent step he could take in so critical a juncture. By a vain prosecution of revenge, the present disaster might have been rendered irretrievable, in a total annihilation of the only base that now remained for the formation of another British army.

The troops were therefore put to the right-about, reversing the duties of the rear and advanced guards, and returned in a precipitate manner, followed by immense squadrons of horse, who pressed us hard upon all quarters until we reached the city of Congeveram

geveram about seven o'clock in the evening, having marched in all that day about eighteen miles.

Every experienced officer knows how quickly the idea of a retreat diffuses despondency and terror into the minds of soldiers unaccustomed to adversity. Let the propriety of it be ever so palpable or clearly explained to them, yet it is impossible to convince them that they are not completely vanquished, that sometimes a retreat may be conducive to a victory, or that, at particular periods, the necessity for such an expedient may be pressing and absolute. Such was the case with us. The troops now seemed to look for nothing else but annihilation; and their fears were greatly heightened by the extravagant and fallacious reports brought hourly into the line by fresh sepoy and drummers, who had made their escape in the night, and confirmed all that had been said of Colonel Baillie's detachment, alleging that no quarter had been given to man, woman, or child; and that each of the enemy's sepoy had carried an European head upon his pike to Hyder's tent. It was no pleasing reflection to our dispirited soldiers that perhaps their own heads might be exalted in the same conspicuous manner before four-and-twenty hours should pass away.

Nor was it an easy matter in this predicament to determine what measures it would be best to adopt for the future operations  
of

of the army. General Munro therefore immediately resolved to consult a council of war, when it was unanimously agreed, as the army was so short of provisions and other necessaries for the field, that we should make the best of our way to Chingliput, and from thence to Madras with the utmost expedition.

Four hours had only been allotted for our halt at Congeveram, during which time the troops lay upon their arms in two large streets crossing each other, a circumstance that occasioned great confusion amongst such a multitude of followers; nor did our anxiety of mind permit us to enjoy the least repose, much fatigued and harassed as we had been during the whole preceding day.

The baggage was no sooner withdrawn from the large pagoda of Congeveram, and our heavy battering guns thrown off the trunnions into a deep tank of water, than the march was re-commenced without beat of drum at four o'clock in the morning; but we had no sooner got clear of the town than a body of no less than twenty thousand horse made their appearance at day-break, which Hyder had dispatched to harass our march; and into whose hands most part of our baggage fell, before we had quitted sight of Congeveram.

The

The army now proceeded upon its route to Chingliput, keeping the right flank covered by the Palliar river the whole way; but, notwithstanding this advantage, the line was so harassed in all other quarters, that our rear-guard was several times very near being cut off; and to the activity of Lord M'Leod, who commanded in the rear, were we indebted for its preservation, he having given it frequent support from the rear battalions, whilst the line continued the retreat.

The severity of the march was inconceivable; for the poor soldiers had not only to repel the fury of barbarians, but also to contend with the irresistible and oppressive force of the sun, with hunger and fatigue, the united influence of which occasioned the dissolution of many of our bravest men, who were thereby fortunate in escaping the accumulated indignities and torture inflicted by a barbarous enemy.

All endeavours in the rear to preserve the baggage were ineffectual; and it was impossible for sepoys in such despair to resist the temptation of liquor, which was every where scattered upon the road. The whole of them and our camp-followers embraced that only method of raising their drooping spirits; as did the enemy likewise to increase the rage of their inhuman cruelty, which

Z

they



they took every opportunity of exercising, without regard to the distinctions of age or sex.

As night approached the timidity of the sepoys increased; they became at last so intoxicated that no orders whatever could prevent them from firing irregularly amongst our own followers, who were frequently mistaken for the enemy; as indeed were most other objects they saw during the night. A regular force might at this time have destroyed the whole of us, but happily Hyder Ally's troops did not come under that denomination, and were equally fatigued with ourselves.

Thus, after a tiresome and unceasing march of thirty-two miles, we at length reached Chingliput upon the morning of the 12th, without having tasted any kind of refreshment, excepting one or two drams and biscuits, from eight o'clock of the 9th, before we marched to the assistance of Colonel Baillie.

Here our regiment had the misfortune of burying Captain Gilchrist, a brave and experienced officer, whose loss the seventy-third had much cause to lament, he having always acted as a mentor to the young and inexperienced gentlemen of his corps. This veteran had the honour, when a subaltern, of witnessing the exploits

exploits of General Wolfe upon the plains of Quebec, and was now at the head of our grenadier company; but, having exerted himself too much upon the march to Congeveram, he was seized at that place with a fever, which, disabling him from conducting the grenadiers upon the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, affected his mind so deeply, particularly when he heard of their dismal fate, that a delirium came on during this march, of which he died, regretted and justly lamented by all.

About five hours after we had encamped at Chingliput we were joined by Lieutenant-colonel Cosby, with a detachment of one thousand sepoy, and three regiments of cavalry, which General Munro had ordered some time before to march from Trichinopoly, in order to intercept some convoys coming to the enemy through Shangama pass; but, having missed them, was now ordered to repair to the main army at Congeveram. Upon his way thither, a gallant but vain attempt was made to storm the fort of Chitaput, one of Hyder Ally's late acquisitions; after which, having heard of our misfortune, the colonel, like a judicious officer, changed his route to Chingliput, where his arrival contributed much to elate our spirits.

From Chingliput the whole army moved, at five o'clock in the evening of the 14th, upon the road to Madras; and, to our

surprise, were but little harassed by the enemy's horse, who it seems were perfectly well satisfied with the booty of the preceding day, and had retired to regale themselves at our expense.

About twelve o'clock next day we encamped at Marmalong river, near St. Thomas's Mount, and sincerely congratulated each other upon our narrow escape from destruction, though accomplished with the loss of our whole baggage; for which most of us vainly hoped the Company would have made ample recompense to the army; but we found ourselves egregiously mistaken in our ideas of their liberality.

A month had only elapsed in this camp when cantonments were marked out for us upon Choultry plains and St. Thomè, into which we marched about the end of September, in order to recruit our spirits, and recover from the excessive fatigues which we had experienced in the course of this inauspicious expedition.

We had no less than five hundred men killed and wounded upon the whole of the retreat. Here I think it incumbent upon me to extenuate the irregularities of the sepoys in both the English armies concerned in this ill-fated excursion. Those in Colonel Baillie's detachment had shewn the greatest bravery upon many occasions, but most conspicuously so upon the 10th of September, having

having stood undaunted the whole fire of the enemy, from seven in the morning until nine, when a fatal accident only broke their order and threw them into irretrievable confusion. When once the best and most veteran troops are broken and become panic-struck, the difficulty of rallying them again is well known to experienced officers. Had not the fatal circumstance which I allude to happened (of the camp-followers breaking the ranks of his detachment), I doubt not but, under the conduct of such an able officer as commanded them, they might have braved all danger until the main army had joined. The fate of this detachment is at any rate sufficient to evince the hazard and folly of carrying such a train of baggage and followers along with an army into the field.

Many of Colonel Baillie's sepoys who effected their escape from wounds and the enemy, notwithstanding the dangers which they had so recently encountered, fought hard in General Munro's army next day, which was no small mark of their loyalty and courage. Nor was their subsequent conduct in the main army much to be wondered at, for they sustained the whole brunt of the retreat; and better troops than they have been known to yield to the temptations that were thrown in their way upon the route from Congeveram. Their excessive fatigues in some measure warranted the free use of liquor; and which likewise might be in a great measure the cause of speedy intoxication. After every thing that  
can



can be adduced against them, it must be acknowledged that the Company's sepoys are good troops, and exceedingly well officered.

Hyder now returned to the siege of Arcot, which capitulated after a faint resistance of six weeks. It was stipulated that the garrison should *not serve for the remainder of the war*. And, having now secured cantonments for his army during the rainy season, Hyder ordered them to be escorted by a guard of horse to Madras.

In Arcot, arms, stores and ammunition, for forty thousand men are said to have been deposited. Such an acquisition as this, together with his extraordinary successes in the field, could not but terminate the operations of his first campaign to the perfect satisfaction of Hyder Ally.

Though the council and inhabitants of Madras were seriously alarmed by the sudden return of the army, which brought with it intelligence of the recent disasters, yet even this was not sufficient to extinguish their intestine cabals. They were, however, unanimously of opinion "That a requisition should be made to Bengal " for a supply of troops and money," in whatever other points they might disagree.

The

The supreme council of Bengal no sooner understood the perilous situation of affairs at Madras, than they ordered thither the commander in chief, Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, to take the command of the army, with fifteen lacks of rupees, and a detachment of four hundred European infantry and two hundred artillery; directing, at the same time, that Governor Whitill should be immediately superseded by Mr. Charles Smith, first in council. Thus, much was to be expected next campaign from such a revolution in government, and so great and seasonable a supply of money and troops.

Besides these liberal aids, they had also given orders for another large detachment of ten battalions of sepoy, and twenty-two guns, under the command of Colonel Pierce, to march from Bengal early in the spring, in order to reinforce our army.

Soon after our return to Madras, Lord M'Leod dispatched a messenger to Hyder Ally, requesting the restitution of some important papers, which had been taken in his lordship's baggage on the retreat from Congeveram. To this message Hyder haughtily replied that 'in so *small* an army as the British, such a thing might 'be done; but how was it possible for the commander of *one hundred thousand men*, to attend to such trifles?'

Whilst

Whilst Hyder remained in winter quarters at Arcot, his flying irregulars, encouraged by their late successes, overran the whole country at pleasure in quest of plunder. The poor inoffensive natives were thus chased by fire and sword from their wretched retreats, and obliged to wander, like ravenous animals, through woods and mountains, prowling for a wretched support, many dying by famine, and many more being sacrificed to the enemy's savage thirst of blood. Those who escaped with their lives very generally suffered mutilation in a shocking degree, and many unfortunate women became victims to a brutal lust. Some, however, had the fortitude to take themselves off by poison, rather than submit to such shameful indignities.

These ruffians also penetrated to the south, as far as the Tanjore country, where they exercised the same predatory ravages, every where marking their footsteps by the most awful desolation.

It was reported that Hyder, in the course of his intoxicating prosperity, ordered Tippto to be solemnly proclaimed in Arcot **NABOB OF THE CARNATIC**: and when the first fury of invasion began to subside, he assured the country labourers and manufacturers of his protection, if they would return to their former occupations and places of abode; declaring himself a friend to them, though an  
 enemy

enemy to the English; and, in order to encourage them, restrained his foldiers from any future depredations.

But those poor deluded creatures had no fooner fallied from their concealments upon the faith of this proclamation, and begun to refume their refpective occupations, than they were fwep away into captivity; thoufands of children of all cafts and fexes, many of whom were training up to arts and ufeul manufactures, being daily carried off on purpofe to people the Mifore dominions; Hyder having wifely confidered the great utility and advantage he might reap from this cruel policy both in peace and war.



L E T T E R    XIII.

Choultry-Plain, December 1780.

It may not be amiss, whilst in winter quarters, to give you some idea of the manner in which an eastern army is assembled for war, and their singular mode of marching; without a knowledge of which it is merely impossible for any one properly to judge of the military operations in this country.

When it is resolved to bring an army into the field, some favourite gentlemen of the civil line are immediately contracted with as commissaries and agents, to furnish a certain number of troops with tents, beef, and mutton; rice, arrack, and draught and carriage bullocks.

Here it is proper to observe, that bullocks of the stoutest kind are substituted instead of horses in Indian armies, to drag their cannon; there being allotted to each piece of ordnance, upon an average, one ox to every pound weight of metal in the ball, and a few spare ones to serve upon emergencies, with a proper propor-

tion of drivers. Bullocks are also used for carrying all the stores of an army, such as rice, casks of gunpowder, and other military apparatus; likewise all the tents in camp, and every other article appertaining to the quarter-master's department: so that, without prodigious droves of these useful animals, it is merely impossible for an army to take the field; and consequently the person who contracts with the Company to furnish draught and carriage-bullocks at a certain advanced price must in a very short time accumulate an handsome fortune. He may also be said in a manner to command the movements of the troops; as without those cattle they cannot possibly stir from the quarters.—Bullocks, money, and faithful spies, are the sinews of war in this country. Judge then what fatal consequences might occur, if the enemy found means to *reward* these agents for being remiss in their duty at any particular emergency.

The agent for draught bullocks and the contractor for provisions generally understand each other well. When the latter is at any time hard pushed for provisions, the former contrives to lame two or three hundred of his carriage oxen, which are clandestinely transferred over to his friend; there being nothing easier than to report them at head-quarters either 'lamed upon the march,' or 'expended in the service;' and none can pretend to dispute the truth of the matter; for his black servants and others will at any

time swear, for an adequate *douceur*, to any thing proposed to them. The agent must of course be ordered immediately to supply this loss with fresh bullocks, which you know is serving himself and his friend at the same time. Nor is it difficult, when trade is slack, to suffer, through the carelessness of his herdsmen or drivers, two or three thousand of the draught and carriage cattle to straggle occasionally beyond the advanced pickets of the army, and fall into the hands of the enemy, under pretext that there was no good forage or pasture to be found nearer at hand. These are usually reported 'taken by the enemy.'

It is only when foraging parties are unsuccessful that the commissary for provisions has recourse to the aid of his friends, and that his office becomes most lucrative: although a little, indeed I may say all, occasionally sticks to his hands in superintending the disposal of the cattle and grain seized by the army in the course of a campaign, and always retailed to a good account in the public *bazar* or sutling-houses, nominally for the benefit of the troops; but which in the end devolves to himself and his assistants; for perhaps, like a suit in Chancery, it may take up the whole life-time both of himself and his heirs, to adjust his accounts to the perfect satisfaction of the army. In arranging these documents, the mode pursued is quite different from that practised in giving in a state of disbursements to the East-India Company; the one being formed by the rules

rules of *subtraction*, and the other by that of *multiplication*. This gentleman also derives an handsome profit from the arrack-contract, which is generally given to him in order to make up his *deficiencies* upon other occasions.

It is almost impossible for me to follow the rice-agent through all the mazes of his intricate business. Rice being the staff of life in India, he must have a sufficient quantum of it for every foldier and follower in the army, which the former get *gratis* in the field, as they do their meat and drams; but the coolies and others are caused to pay for their quotas at a stated price; so that his profits greatly depend upon the consumption, which must be considerable in a numerous army, besides what he may privately contrive to dispose of at an high price to the distressed inhabitants in different towns through which the army passes. This may be reported, 'taken or left behind, for want of bullocks, upon the line of 'march,' the cattle being afterwards disposed of in such a manner as to confer a mutual obligation upon the whole triumvirate.

Officers are neither at the expense of providing or conveying their tents in this country. The liberality of the Company supplies them with this accommodation of the very best kind. The tents which they contract for are full twice as large as those used in Europe. They are made of thick cotton cloth; the shell as well

as



as the walls being composed of two folds of white, and one of blue cloth; which last is placed innermost; and the fly is made of the same materials; so that an officer, when in camp, enjoys the great comfort in this sultry clime, of having six folds of this thick cotton cloth placed betwixt his head and the vertical rays of the sun.

The soldiers tents hold each ten men with great ease, and have also two folds and a blue lining; which, after some rain and dust falling upon them, become so thick, that under their shade, even in the hottest day, one feels comfortably cool. I have been thus particular upon the subject of tents, because I consider them as the greatest luxury in an Indian army; and that of all others the least to be dispensed with in this country. But, like the rest of our contractors, the man who furnished this article soon began to find too great a demand for tents in proportion to his supplies of cloth, which induced him, instead of employing a greater number of weavers, to leave out one fold each from both fly and shell. This reduced our covering to four folds of canvas; and, in order to distinguish his tents from those that were private property, they were each marked with a large B. S., the initials of his name; but which we, very often, upon hot days, construed into B—se Sc—d—l.

Three bullocks are allotted for the carriage of each marquee, and one for that of each private tent; but those of a field-officer are for the most part so large as to require a camel or an elephant to support them. Two lascars are also sent to camp with each marquee, in order to pitch and give it occasional repairs.

There is another very necessary establishment to the European corps, which is two *buccalies* to each company: these are two large leathern bags, for holding water, slung upon the back of a bullock (each pair of which have a man to attend them), for the convenience of the soldiers in camp or upon the line of march. The sepoy have also a few of them attached to them.

It is the quarter-master's duty, as in Europe, to take charge of all the public tents, bullocks and lascars, with all the rice, &c. allotted for his regiment; for which purpose he is allowed the assistance of a few black servants, bullocks, and carts; which, with the overplus produced by the scanty measurement of the rice to the soldiers and servants of the regiment, bring him in a few emoluments: he is sure at least of having all his baggage carried free of all expense.

The surgeon, of an European corps particularly, has a great deal to attend to if he does his duty. There is delivered into his charge

charge a set of doolies or sick beds, which are a mean representation of a palanquin: the number attached to a corps is in the proportion of one to every ten men, with four bearers to each. In these vehicles every valetudinarian of the regiment is conveyed along with the camp; those whose cases are the worst being left behind in the general hospital, or under the care of a mate, who hires a place for their accommodation in the precincts of Madras. The surgeon may now and then, when one of his doolies are empty, shove a trunk into it. By this means, and with what is allowed him for the carriage of medicines, he generally contrives to have his baggage transported safely, and free of all expense.

A bazar is also an indispensable appendage to an Eastern army: it consists of a whole camp of futlers, generally provided by order of the nabob, as his people are best acquainted with this kind of business. They provide and sell to the best advantage all the necessaries of life, which it would be highly inconvenient for the soldiers to carry about with them; such as curry-stuffs, tobacco, rice for the superfluities of the army, meat, cotton-cloth, gram for the officers' horses; in short, they furnish out an excellent market, where one may get any thing at a certain price. Care is also taken by the regulator of this motley crew, that a necessary proportion of them accompanies every detachment that is to remain for any length of time from camp. Every thing sold here pays a certain duty

duty to the commander of the army, which is necessarily productive of very handsome emoluments, and he will therefore take care to keep the market well supplied, not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life. The regulator also receives his gratuity, as do many others subservient to him; all of which, however, in the end comes out of the pocket of the poor consumer.

The tents, and other necessary appointments for the camp, are no sooner got ready than the troops assemble; and if the contractor or commissaries cannot procure a sufficient number of bullocks to carry all the stores and provisions necessary for the army, detachments of sepoys are immediately sent out to press coolies \*, in order to supply their places; and, should they be hard pushed for means of conveyance, the press becomes as hot and general as upon the river Thames for seamen in time of a war: and no distinction is made amongst the blacks, women as well as men being seized upon for this purpose. Even the favourite swamy bullocks belonging to the native merchants in the Black Town, and every palanquin boy within the verge of Madras, are brought to camp upon these emergencies.

When these arbitrary measures are adopted, the officers, who provide for themselves, find it very difficult to get their private

\* People who officiate as porters, and carry their burdens on their heads.



baggage conveyed along, and which in an eastern camp does not consist of a small catalogue of necessaries. As rank advances in this quarter of the world style and luxury increase. The preparations for war here carry nothing hostile in their appearance, ease and comfort being far more studied upon these occasions than dispatch, or whatever might tend most to facilitate the service. It would be absurd for a captain to think of taking the field without being attended by the following enormous retinue, *viz.* a durbah, cook and boy; and, as in these times bullocks are not to be had, he must assemble fifteen or twenty coolies to carry his baggage, who, with an horse-keeper and grass-cutter, and sometimes a dulcinea and her servants, complete his train, having occasionally the assistance of a barber, washerman and ironer, in common with the other officers of his regiment. It might be thought improper, on such an occasion as that of taking the field, to allow the captain a palanquin; although I have known many of them permitted to enjoy this luxury at very improper seasons, which of course must add nine bearers to his suite. His tent is furnished with a good large bed, mattress, pillows, &c. a few camp-stools or chairs, a folding-table, a pair of shades for his candles, six or seven trunks with table-equipage; his stock of linens (at least twenty-four suits); some dozens of wine, brandy, and gin; tea, sugar, and biscuit; an hamper of live poultry, and his milch-goat. A private's tent for holding his servants and the overplus of his baggage is also requisite;

requisite ; but this is not at the Company's expense. Every other necessary of life may be found in the public bazar. Thus every officer in the line equips himself according to his abilities and rank ; but some of them are often obliged to leave the half of this trumpery behind upon the ground, for want of coolies or bullocks to carry it off.

When an officer has company to dine with him in camp he never provides plates, knives and forks, glasses, or chairs for them ; it being the invariable custom for each guest to send his servant thither with these articles, who lays them down upon the table wherever he sees a vacant place ; and dishes for the meat are generally borrowed from the nearest neighbours. In place of messing together, as in Europe, each officer keeps a cook ; and in this manner entertains half a dozen friends in his turn. This is certainly a pleasant mode of living, but not quite so economical as messing constantly together, which would considerably lessen the number of servants in the field. There are few officers that are not obliged to keep an horse on account of the excessive fatigue in the performance of their extraordinary duties in this country.

Apologies however are to be made for carrying such an ample stock into the field. Here no supplies of any kind are to be found in the country towns through which the army marches, as in

Europe. Whenever a war breaks out the cities and villages in this quarter of the globe are instantly desolated, so that there is no possibility, unless we enter an enemy's country, of making the smallest acquisition, from the beginning to the end of a campaign.

Hircarrahs, or spies, are necessary attendants upon the general, of whom I have not yet spoken. These have various means of conveying intelligence from one place to another. They most commonly go in disguise; and their information is marked in small characters upon a slip of paper about six or seven inches long and one broad, which is rolled up quite tight, and sometimes put into a quill or hollow walking stick. It is also frequently carried in his turban, his nostril, or a still more secret place. Should the hircarrah be very closely searched, and conceives himself in imminent danger, he is oftentimes known to swallow the *chit*, as the paper is called; and if the enemy, by whom he is taken, chance to suspect his having adopted this measure, a surgeon is immediately called to administer some strong purgatives; but where dispatch is necessary, I have heard it said that Hyder Ally makes no scruple of ripping up the belly of an hircarrah to get at any important intelligence. It was alleged, that an officer of distinction in our service used to employ a female hircarrah, who rendered him very essential benefit in the course of his operations; but this faithful old woman would

would never discover where she hid the *chit* in the hour of danger, and various were the conjectures upon this subject.

All the duties of advanced guards and pickets, escorts, and other services of fatigue, are performed by the sepoy, who are surprisingly active upon their posts, and pay the most implicit attention and obedience to orders, which are given in English, but afterwards explained to them in their own language. The Europeans do no other duty in camp than mounting their own quarter-guards, excepting when we are close upon the enemy, lest the heat should throw too many of them into the hospital.

The British camp is here pitched with the same order and regularity as in Europe, having places at a distance in the rear allotted for the immense numbers that accompany the army, and the bazar to pitch their huts in; which last is distinguished by the nabob's triangular flag flying over it; but it is merely impossible, for a long time after the camp has been formed, to prevent numerous herds and families of these wretched creatures from obstinately lighting up their fires in every street and alley in the line; which not only subjects us to the greatest confusion, but to the most offensive smells during the night. This in particular, when upon a march, is absolutely intolerable; for, should it happen to rain during the night, every servant that has been hired for the campaign thinks himself



himself justly entitled, upon such an emergency as this, to take shelter in his master's tent; which liberty they must be indulged in, otherwise they will soon decamp, for it is death to a black fellow to suffer wet or cold in the night. You may easily imagine then how much these disgusting habits must blast all the enjoyments of life; the captain being obliged, in the midst of all his luxuries, to repose in a close tent, surrounded by twenty or thirty of these black miscreants, lying compactly upon the floor in order to keep each other warm. Some are shivering and snoring, others purifying the damp smell of the ground with still more *poignant* flavours, whilst a few more, whose rest may have been disturbed by a fit of the cold gripes, light a piece of stinking tobacco, and, without the least ceremony or respect, commence a conversation together in a kind of under-tone, which to a stranger sounds as if they were deeply engaged in a quarrel. Some gentlemen, forgetting their interest, get so enraged upon these occasions with the impudence and presumption of the fellows as to disperse them with a smack of the whip; but they are frequently left in the morning to repent at leisure of this rash proceeding.

In addition to the superabundant multitude of attendants already described, every sepoy in the army carries with him to camp his whole family, be they ever so numerous, who live upon his pay and allowances of rice from the Company. This practice, when properly

properly considered, is really justifiable in them, for an Asiatic must have his wife, whatever may be his circumstances; nor is it customary upon any occasion for man and wife to be separated. The wife shares the hardships of war with her husband in the most cheerful manner, let them be ever so perilous, and follows him wheresoever he goes. Besides, a sepoy's station in life is reckoned so far respectable and elevated above the common rank, that he is looked up to for support and protection by all his needy relations, which he generously affords them to the utmost of his power, sharing his all with these dependants, who have no other home but his barrack or tent. Yet I think methods might be devised for obviating in a great degree this inconvenience to the army without giving offence to the sepoys. At any rate there is not so much excuse for suffering all the coolies and other followers of the camp to be attended by their wives and children, which is also the case.

The cavalry next come under our consideration. There are but few of these actually in the Company's service; for it is the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn who has the name of keeping them in pay. He has seldom upon his establishment above four or five regiments of three hundred men each, to every corps of which are attached about one hundred infantry, with two light field-pieces dragged by horses, and a set of Company's officers in the same manner as the sepoys. These dragoons are clothed in red, and

appointed in the same style as our regiments of light horse; being also well disciplined, and in many respects little inferior to British cavalry, for they are all composed of high-cast Moormen, who never fail to do their duty when treated like soldiers.

If at any time a regiment of them should be ordered to do duty in our camp, they must necessarily bring along with them a vast number of attendants. Every trooper, besides his family, has a grass-cutter attached to him; for, as I observed before, the grass is in this country dug up by the roots, being washed from the sand and dried in a net; and it is a sufficient day's work for one person to roof out twenty-four hour's food for a single horse. Each troop is also furnished with a large copper kettle for boiling the gram or beans for the horses, as it is reckoned unwholesome to let them have it raw. A quantity of this grain, sufficient to serve the regiment for a certain time, must also be conveyed upon bullocks, allowing each ox to carry about a month's store for a single horse.

Having now given you a pretty clear idea of the manner in which an Asiatic army is formed, we shall next proceed, if you please, to put it in motion.

Orders being issued for the army to march at four o'clock on the following morning, the officers' coolies are sure to come the  
night

night before, at the private request of the head-dubashes, to solicit for half, and sometimes a whole month's wages in advance, declaring, though at the risk of a good flogging, that they cannot, and will not, march without first having a proportion of rice and money also delivered out to them. The dubash at the same time insinuates to his master that it is prudent for him to comply with this request, lest his baggage should be left behind; pretending also to chide the coolies for their indiscretion; and the officer, having no other choice left him but the loss of his baggage, or the payment of the money, must of course yield through necessity to this unreasonable demand. The dubash, being always the domestic paymaster, deducts his own fees; for he always exacts from every servant under him a certain proportion of his wages; and immediately conceals another plan with the coolies, from whence further advantages may soon accrue to both parties. Every malecontent being at last satisfied, the heavy baggage is packed up, and all retire to rest until the *general beat* in the morning.

The first ruffle is no sooner made by the senior corps in camp than there is a general stir throughout the whole army. The lascars knock down the tent-pins; the dubash prepares breakfast for his master; the cook boils water for tea; the coolies pack up their loads; the soldiers are warming up some curry and rice, and receiving their morning drams; the carriage-bullocks are brought from



the rear; down fall the tents like trees in a forest yielding to the stroke of the wood-cutter. While the officers finish their breakfast some cold meat is packed up for the march. By this time also swarms of the black race have kindled blazing fires in every corner of the camp; and such of those connexions, as had agreed the night before to keep company upon the line of march, are now heard, man, woman, and child, bellowing aloud each other's names in the most discordant sounds. Nothing can be conceived more offensive to the ear than this noise.

The assembly now beats off; and, breakfast over, the tents are packed, and upon the bullocks backs, as are the rice and other public stores: the baggage is also mounted upon the coolies' heads; the officers' foot-boys fling their brandy-bottle, a tumbler, and an earthen pot of cool water, carrying also a camp-stool or chair upon each of their heads, lest *master* should soil his small clothes by sitting upon the ground. The *dubash* and cook attend the baggage during the march; but have orders to push forward as soon as the camp is marked out, in order to get a tiffin or collation prepared by the time their master comes up to his tent.

The soldiers are by this time also fallen into their ranks, and all the officers attend, when the horse-keepers are ordered to bring up their horses to the rear of the regiment. The pickets having joined,

joined, all the drums of the army strike up the march, and the whole line steps off, either by the right or left; the followers with the baggage being commanded to keep upon the most convenient flank of the army; but this last order is very rarely obeyed; for the baggage and multitude extend to such a length and depth, that the whole line, which generally marches by files, becomes a perfect convoy; nor is it hardly sufficient even for that purpose.

Whilst the country continues open, and the enemy keep at a distance, the army is not much interrupted in its march; but if by accident it should be obliged to pass through a narrow defile, then commences the scene of general confusion. All urge forward like sheep rushing into a fold. The mob, bursting through the line in spite of every effort to prevent them, become at last a solid wedge from the close manner in which each side presses towards the centre. Here the cattle are lamed, the carriages broken down, and the foldiers and coolies almost squeezed to death.

In this helpless predicament what can a general be supposed to do? The enemy perhaps appears both in front and rear; and that, which individuals may probably have cause to consider as a misfortune, now fortunately happens. The coolies throw down their loads, and they and their families betake themselves to the neighbouring hills and woods; first taking care, however, to

plunder the trunks intrusted to their charge. By this means the troops are greatly relieved, soon finding themselves alone, and at liberty to act. But, although they successfully defend themselves, and clear their passage through the defile, yet it is merely impossible to preserve one half of the baggage, which must of course fall a sacrifice in this scene of consternation and distress.

The delays occasioned by these disasters make it noon before the army again proceeds upon the march, when the sun becomes perfectly vertical; and it is always at this time of the day that the enemy chuses to harass Europeans, the sun acting then as a powerful ally. We shall now suppose the enemy beaten off, when some of the followers return to their charge, though the greatest number of these villains, availing themselves of the confusion, wait until night in the hills, when they steal off with their plunder to Madras, and are never heard of more.

The poor Europeans now begin to flag greatly upon the march, being miserably scorched by the acute rays of the sun, which first dart upon the sand, and then revert with accumulated heat upon their faces. Notwithstanding that each soldier carries a small branch in his hand to fan off the myriads of flies, by which he is constantly tormented, yet all his exertions



yield him but little relief; for the battalion is so much covered by those insects, particularly if the weather be at all sultry and close, that, at the distance of two hundred yards, one would suppose they were actually clothed in black.

It is a fortunate respite for the European corps, if the line should by any accident halt for half an hour in the vicinity of a grove. Then the officers and men grasp at a mouthful of grog and biscuit; but for those that happen to be out of the shade it is as distressing as it is pleasant to them who are under cover; for half an hour's halt in the sun is more fatal than being two hours exposed to it while in motion. It is therefore to be wished that officers commanding detachments would consider this, and not keep the soldiers for hours together upon a parade waiting the performance of a thousand ridiculous ceremonies very immaterial to the service.

I ought before to have observed, that in this country the European soldiers never carry their knapsacks upon the march, the black boys and others who cook for them in camp easing them of that burden. Those cook-boys are amazingly attached to their masters, and will keep close to their heels in the midst of the greatest dangers. When they grow up they make the best sepoys, for all of them speak English well.



If any European recruits or young corps should happen to do duty in the line, the march hardly commences before they begin to get fatigued and overcome by the intolerable heat. They soon exhaust all their allowance of arrack, which is too frequently replenished by stagnant water, sometimes so muddy, rotten, and green, that it cannot possibly be drank without adding at least one half of spirits, and then it must be sucked or strained through a handkerchief; an expedient that in a short time knocks them entirely up. It is really distressing to witness the severe struggles which the poor men often have from the oppression of the weather, and the numerous diseases to which they are hourly subject. Some, from a redundancy of bile, drop down in a fit of insensibility, and are seized with a violent cholera-morbus; and indeed it is fortunate for them when this is the case, as otherwise they must instantly expire. Others fall suddenly down in contortions with the cramp. It runs acutely through every limb, and at last centers in the stomach, which kills the person afflicted upon the spot. But the *coup de soleil* is of all others the most fatal attack. It is in the crown of the head that this deadly blow is most commonly felt. The victim first finds his brains begin to boil, and a convulsive fit is the immediate consequence, of which he dies in a very few minutes; and so very violent is the effect of this disorder, that the body becomes quite putrid before a hole can be dug into which it may be thrown. The surgeons' doolies upon these occasions soon get filled with sick men; those

those who are least afflicted being placed upon a gun or cart; and it is some time before many of them get fit for duty again, being often seized after these fatigues with the dysentery, a lingering and loathsome disorder, which carries off too many of our best foldiers.

It is not however so much to be wondered at, that Europeans should be such sufferers by the climate, when even the native sepoys are unable to withstand the violence of the sun, like others frequently dropping upon the line of march; but it must be considered that they always carry their knapsacks. Yet it is astonishing to see the immense loads which the coolies and other servants, who walk and stop at their pleasure, will carry upon their heads, without being in the least affected. Even boys and girls of nine and ten years of age are seen carrying burdens, that in our country would be thought sufficient for full grown men.

As the army moves along, the officers oftentimes enjoy upon the road a fine chase after antelopes and hares, with which this country abounds. The foldiers of a regiment will perhaps start from under their feet ten or a dozen hares in a day. They also meet with covies of partridge, wild-duck, and the floriken, a most delicious bird of the buzzard kind. Wild boars are also sometimes surprised, and afford great diversion in the line.

When

When the army comes within a mile or two of the ground upon which the commanding officer means to encamp, the quartermaster-general and quartermasters, who are, with the tents of the army, near to the advanced guard, push forward, and mark out the ground, and as quickly as the tents can follow and come up they are instantly pitched. The commander's marquee is generally the first erected; the sight of which greatly revives the drooping spirits of the troops: and in a short time afterwards the poor foldiers are relieved from the excessive fatigues of the day, and brought under cover.

Whilst many of the officers and men rejoice in finding their tents pitched and ready for their reception, others, more unfortunate, perceive, to their great mortification and disappointment, that their marquees, and probably the whole of their baggage also, had unavoidably fallen into the enemy's hands during the scuffle at the defile: nor is it until now that the second combination of the *dubashes* and coolies is fully discovered, who are by this time probably half-way back to Madras with their booty. And what adds to this misfortune is, that the Company's generosity never extends to a reimbursement upon such occasions.

When tents are lost an arrangement is immediately made for the accommodation of those officers who had been so unlucky as to have theirs

theirs taken; and such as are sufferers by the villany of their servants have their *kits* speedily replenished through the kindness of their brother officers. Thus, towards the end of a campaign, the stock of each is reduced to that proper size which, every thing considered, it ought to have been at first setting out; for I will venture to say that some detachments in America would have been glad to begin a campaign upon the fragments to be found in an Indian army after their return from an expedition.

It is always in the vicinity of some tank or pond that the army encamps, as running water is seldom to be met with in this country, except during the monsoon-season. The cattle and naked followers no sooner reach the camp than they plunge into the tank, in order to cleanse and refresh themselves; and, after every filthy ablution is performed in it, we are forced to use the same liquid for drink and other purposes.

Upon these marches the rear-guard has a most distressing duty to perform. The cavalry and sepoy are always put upon it, commanded by a field-officer; and it is sometimes five or six hours, after the rest of the line have been refreshed and snug in their tents, before the rear-guard can drive all the baggage and followers of the army into camp, unless upon a day on which the enemy have been numerous and daring in the rear.



The first employment of the troops when the tents are pitched is to get some refreshment, or what is called a *tiffin*, dressed. The cooks are immediately set to work upon a stew or hash of cold meat, curry and rice, broiled bones or game, in different shapes; and though this repast for the most part begins under the appellation of a *snack*, it generally ends in a good hearty dinner, and a comfortable dose of generous liquors. Some, however, prefer the simple curry and rice, and a basin of good tea, which is certainly very refreshing after much fatigue. The general and field-officers, for the most part, have large parties at these tiffins; and those who are most liberal and luxurious upon such occasions are with us always considered as *the best officers*. Many clamorous mouths are also stopped by a good bottle of claret at the tables of the commissaries and agents.

The tiffin being finished, every one retires to rest; care being first taken, by those who have had their hands and faces scorched by the sun, to anoint themselves with oil or spirituous liquors, lest the skin should crack and occasion great pain. But, as it happens to be yet day-time, each gentleman is obliged, before he can get the least repose, to keep two or three black servants standing round his bed with large cow-tails and fans to keep off the flies, which, during the day, are as universally tormenting, as the musquitoes are by night. I should also have mentioned that these fanners attend their

their masters whilst at meals, as it would be otherwise impossible to eat or drink in comfort; for before one can carry a tumbler of grog to the mouth, in spite of every exertion, it will be brimful of flies. Of all others the cavalry are most to be pitied; for they can neither eat nor sleep, be they ever so hungry and fatigued, until the sun sets, on account of the swarms of those insects that continually attend their horses.

But what must you think of the distressing situation and severe duty of the field-officer of the day, and those officers and soldiers who are ordered, before they halt, to reach the advanced guards in front and rear of the camp? Some of these posts are perhaps two or three miles distant from the grand parade, where they must remain vigilant during the whole night long, exposed after a burning sun, most probably, to heavy showers of cold rain in the night. It is the duty of the field-officer to ride round the camp, first to fix upon these posts, and then to place the different guards there; having also to visit all the environs of the camp two or three times during day and night, to see that the sentinels are alert upon their posts.

Now are my worthy countrymen and fellow-soldiers, involved in deep repose, transported, perhaps, by happy imagination to their

native clime, whither it is natural to suppose the most ardent wishes of their hearts would soonest lead them; and since in this ungenial region it seems impossible for them to participate in real pleasures, let us leave them to indulge in pleasant dreams, as long as the numerous plagues of this country will permit.

CAMPAIGN

## C A M P A I G N OF 1781.

## L E T T E R XIV.

Madras, December 1781.

It has been a general, and I believe a just, observation—that the happiness of the English as a nation might be both more heightened and permanent, did their spirits admit of greater moderation in prosperous or adverse circumstances; for, unhappily, ever in extremes, they are either too much elated or depressed by the most trivial occurrences.

This disposition never appeared more conspicuously than it did some time ago at Madras. From a state of unmanly despondency, every countenance was flushed with joy and expectation by the appearance of Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, who had come thither from Bengal to take upon him the command of the army.

With



With the generality of people, unaccustomed to weigh causes with events, his very name carried with it a charm sufficient of itself to effect a retrieval of our affairs.

The appearance of this officer is indeed highly pleasing and respectable. Though much emaciated by a long residence in this enervating climate, he yet bears the air of an hardy veteran; and, though at the age of sixty-three, cheerfully submits to the unremitting duties and trying hardships of the field. He is also renowned for an intrepid spirit and judicious conduct; which, together with a fascinating mien and an outward affectation of countenancing the sepoys, are said to have given him a great ascendancy over the black troops; an important accomplishment, not easily to be attained by commanders in this country. This last indeed is the chief cause assigned for sending General Coote to command at this critical period upon the Coromandel coast.

The preservation and safe return to Madras of Sir Hector Munro's little army proves now to have been a most fortunate circumstance for this presidency; as without such a reinforcement to his command Sir Eyre Coote would only have come hither to conduct the siege of Madras; it being impossible for him to have taken the field until an army had moved round from Bengal or Bombay, during which time Hyder Ally might have easily completed

pleted the conquest of the whole Carnatic, to the siege of Fort St. George.

To the detachment commanded by General Munro the reinforcement brought by Sir Eyre Coote being added, that gallant veteran found means, by his popularity and indefatigable exertions, to assemble at St. Thomas's Mount, in the beginning of January 1781, one of the finest armies that ever appeared upon the plains of the Carnatic. It consisted of his Majesty's seventy-third regiment, then six hundred strong; three hundred and fifty of the Bengal, and two hundred and fifty of the Madras, infantry; and about four hundred artillery from both; making in all sixteen hundred Europeans; of ten battalions of sepoy, of five hundred men each; four regiments of black dragoons, each two hundred mounted; and a formidable train of sixty-two pieces of ordnance; forming, when united, a force of seven thousand four hundred effective men.

After having settled his plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, and properly adjusted, in Madras, measures for the future supply of the army, General Sir Eyre Coote, attended by Sir Hector Munro and Lord Macleod, began his march to the southward upon the 17th of January. The first object was to form a junction with a large body of sepoy collecting in the Tanjore country under

Colonel Burrows: and, as Hyder's attention was thereby attracted from the environs of Madras, an opening was left for the presidency to be well supplied with provisions. Such yet, however, were the perils attendant upon this critical juncture, that apprehensions were hourly formed of the appearance of the French fleet upon the coast, in order to avail themselves of our recent misfortunes.

The first exploit of the present expedition was performed upon the 21st by a detachment under Captains Davies and Moorhouse, which left our camp upon the banks of the Palliar river, and gallantly stormed the fort of Carangooly, about eight miles in front of us, before the succeeding morning. The enemy were soon alarmed; and for some time made a resolute defence. During the confusion of the attack the artillery-men, who accompanied the party with a howitzer, by some accident mislaid their matches; but Captain Moorhouse, their officer, fertile in an expedient, seizing a pistol, and ordering the gun to be pushed up close to the first gateway, by that means discharged it, and burst the gate in pieces. A passage was now opened for the brave sepoy to pass the fausse-braye and place their ladders against the inner rampart, which, however, they found so lofty and steep as to render it impossible, after many gallant attempts, to effect their purpose. In the mean time Captain Moorhouse advanced his pitard to the inner gate, under a very heavy fire of musquetry, and showers of stones, arrows,

arrows, and combustibles, which however was in an instant thrown open. The most courageous of the enemy now drew up, as their last resource, under their commandant, and boldly assailed the Company's troops in entering the gateway with swords and targets; but they were soon overpowered by the bayonet, and the fort surrendered at discretion. In this conflict about sixty men were killed and wounded upon both sides. Next morning the army encamped at Carangooly, where was found a great quantity of grain, part of which was delivered out to the troops.

Hyder was at this time with the principal part of his force about Arcot. Large detachments, however, from his army were investing the garrisons of Amboor, Vandewash, Vellore, and Permacoil; and great numbers of his irregular horse and foot were continually hovering round our camp; of which number three hundred discontented Marratta horsemen were by some intrigue brought over to our service at Carangooly.

The central situation of Vandewash, which fortunately was as yet in our possession, and commanded by Lieutenant Flint, an officer of uncommon abilities, activity, and conduct, had attracted the attention of Hyder Ally so much, that his principal officer, *Meer Sabib*, had for some time invested it, and was now laying close siege to the garrison with a powerful train of artillery, eleven



thousand foot, and twenty-two thousand horse. Two approaches were carrying on towards the south and west faces, which had by this time been advanced close to the counterescarp of the ditch.

Full nine weeks had elapsed since the commencement of this siege; and Lieutenant Flint, who judiciously baffled all the arts which Meer Sahib could practise against him, had in the course of his defence nearly expended all his stores and ammunition, which obliged him to solicit assistance from us. A garrison was therefore left in Carangooly; and the army immediately made a movement thither.

The Misorian general, being apprised of our approach, had recourse to an artful stratagem as his last endeavour to gain possession of the place. On the same morning that we marched from Carangooly he ordered his whole army to decamp, and withdrew his heavy guns from all the batteries. Thus, after marching across the plains of Vandewash, and through a large wood on the direct road towards the British army, he commenced a very hot sham cannonade, which lasted for a considerable time, and immediately afterwards returned in regular columns towards the fort; on the most conspicuous places round which were placed, with all imaginable pomp and ceremony, several English standards taken at Baillie's defeat. This was followed by a peremptory summons to deliver Vandewash

Vandewash immediately, Meer Sahib affirming that his troops had given an entire defeat to the British army, as might be seen by the number of English standards then flying in his camp; adding, that no mercy would be shewn if immediate compliance was not given.

But Flint, being aware of his design, never let slip one moment of advantage; and, though much astonished at this strange and sudden manœuvre, took the opportunity, in the absence of the enemy, of making a sally with all his garrison, and completely defacing the whole of their works, which had cost nearly three months in the erection.

Meer Sahib seeing this to be the result of his scheme, and finding our army close upon his heels, raised the siege of this garrison, and retreated to Arcot, denouncing vengeance against Flint; and leaving behind him two or three thousand horse and rocket-men to annoy the British troops upon their march.

The army halted a few days at Vandewash; and, after having supplied Lieutenant Flint with every necessary for a long siege, proceeded on the 28th towards Permacoil. But we had not gone two miles of the first day's march when Sir Eyre Coote received intelligence by an express from Madras that a French squadron under Monsieur D'Orvè had just made its appearance off that place.

place. On this alarming advice the general immediately changed the route back to Carangooly, where we waited for further information, that garrison being centrically situated either for a march to Pondicherry or Madras.

During this interval Tippo Sahib possessed himself of one of the principal keys to the Carnatic, having opened the campaign with the siege of Amboor, which important garrison surrendered upon terms of capitulation.

The French ships, fortunately for us, proved only to have come out upon a cruise of observation, as Sir Edward Hughes's squadron was at this time absent upon the Malabar coast, destroying some ships of war which Hyder had equipped at Mangalore, and sent out from that port to cruise for our traders; and it was on this account late in the spring before Sir Edward made his appearance to co-operate with the army.

Upon this information we proceeded south to Permacoil, which was likewise besieged by a considerable body of the enemy; but its strong situation rendered it impregnable; and on our approach the siege was raised. Continuing our march, we arrived upon the Red hills of Pondicherry on the 5th of February, from whence we

saw

saw the French squadron, consisting of seven ships of war, lying at anchor in the roads.

The inhabitants of this place, had upon its reduction in 1778, sworn allegiance to the British government; but Colonel Brathwate, who had commanded there since that period, had no sooner turned his back upon them to join the main army at Madras, than they unanimously revolted in favour of Hyder Ally, and used their utmost exertions to arm themselves, and collect military stores for the use of their countrymen. All this was effected chiefly by the instigation of Monsieur Moneron, one of the principal inhabitants, to whom the English had been uncommonly indulgent ever since that garrison had fallen into their hands.

A party was immediately detached to destroy all the boats that could be found upon the shores of Pondicherry, and to seize what military stores and provisions were concealed in the town, of both of which immense quantities were discovered. Such stores as were portable the general ordered to be conveyed to camp, the remainder being destroyed.

Hyder could hardly be supposed to remain inactive at Arcot whilst this fleet was upon the coast, from which he expected very singular assistance. Elated with this hope, he made a forced march from



from Arcot; and the first intimation that we had of his approach was the rapid advance of his whole army in an amazing cloud of dust about five o'clock in the evening of the 8th, within two miles of the British camp, seemingly with an intention to get betwixt us and Cuddalore. This place is encircled, at the distance of about a mile and a half, with an impenetrable bound-hedge of Palmira trees; where, if Hyder had once fixed himself with his immense army, he might have defied, during a siege, every effort to succour the garrison.

The drums therefore quickly beat to arms, whilst an express was sent to Pondicherry, where General Coote at this time was seeing his orders put in execution, who narrowly escaped being taken by large bodies of irregular cavalry which had pushed forward for the purpose of surprising us. The outposts had no sooner joined than the British army decamped for Cuddalore, taking a road that led thither between the enemy and the coast.

Hyder continued his march abreast of us; and early in the evening a distant cannonade began, favoured by the moonlight, which galled us, and retarded our march so much, particularly in the rear, that we were at last obliged in our defence to open some guns. The rear-guard, commanded by Major James Mackenzie of the seventy-third regiment, was kept in one continued skirmish the whole

whole night long; but it was so well conducted by that cool and steady officer, that little damage was sustained on our side, while a good deal was occasioned on that of the enemy, one of their European officers being taken with several of their men. No other attempt however was made during the whole march to disconcert the enemy, although it was evident that whole divisions of them might have been attacked by our line in the confusion of their movements during the night, particularly as they were only at the distance of eight hundred or a thousand yards from us, and easily to be discerned around the large fires which they kindled, not only in the track of their own line, but also before our advanced guard as it moved along. In this manner both parties struggled hard who should first reach Cuddalore; which point we fortunately gained at day-break in the morning, and pitched our camp under the guns of that garrison, with a deep river running in our front betwixt us and the enemy; upon finding which they turned off at some distance to the west of the bound-hedge.

Upon the 10th General Coote went out beyond the bound-hedge to reconnoitre the enemy; and when he returned gave orders for the line to get under arms, and to prepare for action immediately. The general then harangued the troops, telling them 'That this day their labours should be all at an end;' meaning, I suppose, the labours of those that might chance to get killed; 'for that in

‘ less than an hour he expected to give battle to the enemy ; an  
 ‘ event which he had long wished for, and doubted not but they  
 ‘ would all do their duty like brave men.’ The soldiers upon this  
 winning speech gave a grin of approbation, with less grace, though  
 perhaps as much zeal, as their general ; and they were now  
 ordered to leave their tents and baggage standing, and follow him  
 to the field.

The line was accordingly marched out to the west side of  
 the bound-hedge, and drawn up in order of battle, with the Pannar  
 river on its right ; the Bandapollam hills close upon its left ; and  
 the rear placed against the bound-hedge of Cuddalore, in which  
 were strong redoubts at proper intervals, having an extensive plain  
 in front, which faced to the west ; and thus we anxiously awaited  
 the approach of the enemy. But who could have the weakness to  
 suppose that Hyder Ally would be rash enough to attack the  
 English army in this strong position, having every advantage on  
 our side that a general could desire ! The consequence was such as  
 might naturally have been expected. No enemy appeared excepting  
 a few straggling horse, at whom one gun was fired, which put a  
 period to this *bloody engagement*. We had however the satisfaction  
 of boasting at Madras—that battle had been offered to Hyder Ally  
 (though when at ten miles distance), and that the challenge had  
 been refused. That the ceremony might appear more formidable  
 in

in the eyes of the world, the troops were kept in this position upon their arms for the space of three complete days, exposed to the violence of the sun, and subsisting chiefly upon cocoa-nuts, and what trash could be picked up; after which they were permitted to return in triumph to their tents, with a considerable addition to the sick-list.

We had now expended all the provisions which had been brought with us from Madras; and the Council having failed in their engagements of sending supplies by sea, the army was rendered quite incapable of moving from the spot; and had no other resource left but to scramble in the environs of Cuddalore for a miserable and uncertain subsistence. It being vain in this distressed situation to think of moving into the country, or proceeding further to the southward, until the arrival of our fleet upon the coast, and till the intentions of the French squadron were properly ascertained, the general determined to remain at Cuddalore until Sir Edward Hughes should make his appearance.

For this reason we lay here in a state of inactivity, from the middle of February until the end of June; during which interval the army dwindled inconceivably. The rapidity with which Hyder at this time penetrated the country, our own severe and successive misfortunes, joined to our now being pent up within the bound-



hedge of Cuddalore, all conspired to impress the minds of the soldiers with melancholy and despondent ideas. Desertion and sickness therefore very considerably prevailed: and such was the languor which now pervaded the whole camp, that the necessary functions of duty were performed in the most negligent and listless manner. Frequent detachments were made to collect cattle and provisions, and to surprise parties of the enemy who lurked about the camp; but they seldom proved successful, although attended with immense fatigue to both officers and men. Some seasonable reinforcements however from Tillicherry and the southward at this time joined us by sea, which served in some measure to replace the losses we had sustained by sickness; but when necessity at last obliged us to move we still laboured under almost insurmountable difficulties.

Such was the deep despair in which the army was involved by our present disastrous situation, that, had the French squadron made the smallest exertion, or only cruized off Cuddalore for the space of one week, we must inevitably have laid down our arms to them without striking a blow; an event which would have been still more fatal to the Company than the unfortunate and disgraceful convention at Wargam. Happily for us, however, the squadron quitted the coast without offering the smallest molestation.

About the middle of May, Major-general Stuart, of whose services the army had long been deprived, having been tried and honourably acquitted of every charge adduced against him, by a general court-martial at Madras, joined us by sea. The advantages to be derived from his abilities as an officer were, however, counter-balanced by a subsequent loss. Some misunderstanding arising betwixt General Stuart and Lord M'Leod concerning priority of rank, it was determined by the commander in chief in favour of the former; in consequence of which his lordship, not being inclined to serve under General Stuart, got permission to withdraw himself from the army, which was by this means deprived of the animating example and brilliant exertions of a prudent and experienced officer.

Such was now the situation of the army that it appeared an indispensable duty in Sir Eyre Coote to attempt some enterprize; to which end he was warmly urged by General Munro and other officers, as well to silence public clamour as to prevent us from starving.

At this period Hyder was in the Tanjore country, committing every devastation which he could devise; and, with a large detachment of his army, had laid siege to Tiagar, an hill fort about twenty miles west of Cuddalore, which at last became the first

object of our long-wished-for movement from that place. General Coote now strained every nerve in attempting the relief of that fort, which was upon the point of surrendering; but we had only proceeded one day's march to the village of Trivady, when every effort failed us; and we were obliged to return by the same track to our former station at Cuddalore; in consequence of which Tiagarfoo capitulated. The vigilance of General Stuart, who that day commanded in the rear, could not prevent a great quantity of baggage, both public and private, from falling into the enemy's hands.

This unexpected retreat encouraged Tippu Sahib, some days afterwards, to form a general attack upon all our outposts at Cuddalore; in the execution of which, however, the enemy were severely handled and smartly repulsed.

The next attempt of the British army was against the fortified pagoda of Chillumbrum, fifteen miles south of us, which had been amongst the first of Hyder Ally's conquests in the Carnatic, and was at present well stored with grain. Upon the 18th of June we marched from Cuddalore, and reached that place with great difficulty, when a formidable assault was immediately made upon it by Sir Eyre Coote in person, much in the same manner as Carangooly was carried. But the garrison being upon their guard  
made

made a very gallant defence, and obliged us, after a continued fire for ten hours, both from musquetry and great guns, to abandon the attempt.

This attack was carried on in the night. A large body of sepoys was ordered to surround the place on every side, and to keep up a heavy fire of musquetry upon the ramparts, whilst another party should enter the pettah to attack the gateways, which were well flanked by modern bastions, and lined with resolute troops, who had, upon the approach of the British army, thrown up a large mound of earth against the inner gate, and cut a ditch across the outside, which rendered it totally impassable. A daring attempt was however made by our troops, who, quite ignorant of the dangers with which they had to encounter, gallantly carried the first gateway under an incessant discharge from great guns and musquetry, which the enemy clearly saw how to direct with certain execution, from the light of blue fire-balls that were constantly thrown in the air for that purpose, and which greatly dazzled the eyes of our men. The British had no sooner brought up a twelve-pounder, to use as a pivot within a small square facing the inner gate, than the enemy threw down upon them such heaps of stones, wooden logs, and burning combustibles, at the same time supporting a dreadful fire of musquetry and arrows, that our men, no longer able to maintain their ground, were obliged to abandon the



the gun, and make a precipitate retreat. The enemy were encouraged by this to make a rally, and pursue them sword in hand; but these were speedily repulsed by the line of sepoys posted as a reserve.

During this conflict, all the Indian females belonging to the garrison were collected at the summit of the highest pagoda, singing in a loud and melodious chorus hallelujahs, or songs of exhortation, to their people below, which inspired the enemy with a kind of frantic enthusiasm. This, even in the heat of the attack, had a romantic and pleasing effect, the musical sounds being distinctly heard at a considerable distance by the assailants.

The general, who made a narrow escape from a cannon-ball that broke the leg of Lieutenant Young, upon whose shoulder he then leaned, finding it impossible to succeed by this mode of assault, drew off his troops towards morning, after having sustained the loss of a brass twelve-pounder, eight officers, and nearly two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

Our failure in this attempt incited Sir Eyre to commence a serious attack upon the fortress of Chillumbrum. To achieve something was necessary, as well to check the presumption of the enemy as to raise the drooping spirits of our army. The exultation



tion of the former indeed was unbounded; they now considered themselves as invincible against a force so inferior as ours, and anticipated with confidence its total annihilation. How blind is human foresight! How incapable is human reason to form immutable conclusions from the link by which we hold of the chain of future events? Our recent defeat, which seriously affected the despondent minds of all, was destined to prove, in the hands of a benignant Providence, the very means from whence future successes were to spring.

Hyder Ally's black commandant at Chillumbrum, intoxicated by the dawn of prosperity that had shone upon his arms, wrote a pressing letter to that chief, urging him in the strongest terms to hasten down from Trichinopoly, and give a total defeat to the British; alleging that he had struck them with such a panic, and destroyed so many of their troops, that they were totally incapable of opposing a force so superior as his.

It being considered necessary by General Coote, before his second design against Chillumbrum could be carried into execution, to procure battering cannon from Sir Edward Hughes's squadron, which had just then arrived at Porto Nova, about six miles distant from us, he accordingly for that purpose moved thither with the whole army: but our camp was no sooner pitched at Porto Nova  
than

than we found ourselves instantly surrounded by the whole Mifore army, as if it had been really actuated by magical power.

Hyder, it seems, flushed by the flattering intelligence received from Chillumbrum, made a forced march from Shamavram in the Tanjore country; and, advancing with his horse at the incredible pace of ninety miles in one day, completely hemmed the British army nearly into an equilateral triangle, formed by his camp, the sea, and Porto Nova river. All thoughts of the attack upon Chillumbrum were necessarily for the present laid aside, our attention being now solely directed to the means of extricating ourselves from this perilous and gloomy situation.

The ground which the enemy had occupied was entirely composed of sand hills, and deep nullahs, intersecting each other; and on every commanding hillock large masked batteries were expeditiously constructed; so that Hyder, having in this manner unexpectedly entrapped us, could not but flatter himself with the most advantageous consequences. We, on the other hand, since chance had thus conducted us into a situation so pregnant with danger, and made a decisive battle inevitable, determined that our valour should render this as memorable in the annals of Britain as the battle of Platea is in those of ancient Greece.

Preparations

Preparations were made on both sides for the important event; Hyder constantly sending large bodies of cavalry to reconnoitre our camp, and keep the out-posts to their arms, at the same time taking care to possess himself of every advantageous spot; and information was hourly brought to us of new batteries having been constructed.

The General, now perceiving that every moment of time wasted by us added to the strength of the enemy, at once determined to send his heavy baggage and other incumbrances on board the fleet, that the troops might move more lightly; and that night the order of the battle, and other arrangements, were issued to the army with great precision.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 1st of July, our line was put in motion, and at the same time the enemy were seen arranging in battle array an army consisting of fifty thousand chosen horse, thirty thousand regular infantry, forty-seven field-pieces in addition to the guns of their batteries, two troops of French hussars, and a battalion of European renegadoes, besides irregular allies composed of different petty princes; forming altogether a force computed at a hundred thousand fighting men.

When our army, which consisted of nearly eight thousand effectives, had filed off from the right, and advanced about a mile

G g

into

into a large plain, it was formed into two lines. The first, under the command of Major-General Sir Hector Munro, was composed of three regiments of Europeans, six battalions of sepoy, one European troop, and two regiments of black dragoons, with thirty pieces of cannon. The second, led by Major-General Stuart, was composed of four battalions of sepoy, and twenty-six field-pieces. One battalion of sepoy, two regiments of cavalry, with six guns and three hundred Marratta horse, were allotted for the baggage guard.

The British troops were first menaced by a chain of Hyder's irregular horse, who appeared immediately in our front as a blind for their masked batteries; by whom innumerable quantities of rockets were thrown, and also some shot. This induced the British line to advance towards them without hesitation, exchanging a few random shot in their progress: but as we approached towards them they gradually retired, and at length suddenly disappeared behind the woods and sand-banks in their rear, at once unveiling to us six large masked batteries of six or ten guns each; from which, however, no shot was yet fired. Upon this discovery the army made a halt until the ground should be closely reconnoitred, when it was judged inconsistent with prudence to advance any further in front. Our line was therefore ordered to file off to the right, which the enemy no sooner perceived than all their batteries



made a furious opening and galled us unmercifully, particularly one upon our left flank, the first discharge from which killed twelve men, and enfiladed both lines.

Having at length cleared the range of these batteries, we kept a long sand-hill betwixt us and the enemy's line, which had by this time quitted its former station, and now moved at some distance in a parallel line with us. In the centre of this sand-hill there appeared a narrow pass, through which our first line bent its course and formed upon a plain on the other side, but not without suffering severely from the Misorian line of infantry and guns drawn up directly in our front, behind a range of low sand-hills and bushes, from whence they fired warmly into the pass.

By this time there was also a bloody contest betwixt a large body of the enemy's grenadiers and horse under Monfieur Lally, and our second line under General Stuart, for the possession of the hill upon our left flank; which, from the steady and gallant behaviour of Captains Muirhead and Stewart, with the 17th and 20th battalions of sepoys, was at last gained by the point of the bayonet. Captain Moorhouse, an expert artillery officer, actually melted a brass six pounder in the discharge of grape upon this resolute division of the enemy, which three times retired and as often repeated a furious but ineffectual attack. The baggage was

afterwards attempted by the same party with as little effect, this second repulse of which seemed to give a fortunate turn to the fate of the day.

During this tough encounter on the left, the first line, led by General Munro, was far from being idle. It had now got completely formed upon the plain; and Hyder, having drawn up all his guns and infantry, supported by large squadrons of cavalry, upon the low hills in our front, about ten o'clock a dreadful cannonade commenced on all quarters, and continued without intermission until three in the afternoon. It was in this interval that the British army sustained its greatest loss. The General was for a considerable time undetermined whether or not he should advance the line to close action. At this crisis Sir Hector Munro politely urged the General to make a brisk and immediate attack upon the enemy's guns, as the only means of gaining a decisive advantage; and this salutary advice not being speedily adopted, Sir Hector added, 'That, if he was not rightly understood, he would communicate his opinion in writing.' Soon after this one of Sir Eyre Coote's aids-du-camp advanced to Sir Hector, then at some distance upon the right of the line, and told him that the General, sensible of the importance of his advice, determined to pursue it, and had now given orders for the line to advance. But by this time the undaunted steadiness of the British troops, and the superior

superior excellence of our artillery, had visibly much slackened the enemy's fire, and thrown their ranks into disorder. This advantage however we could but slowly improve, as large squadrons of horse now hovered from flank to flank under the gallant Meer Sahib, with an intent, if possible, to break the British line, but at least to keep it at bay whilst the enemy should accomplish the retreat of their guns. In this important service Meer Sahib fell; but, as is the invariable custom with the Mahomedans, his body was instantly swept away by his followers, though within two hundred yards of our front. The better to facilitate the removal of their guns, a line of infantry, far outflanking ours, was posted in a deep furrow fronting us, that stood with an appearance of resolution until the British line came within two hundred yards of it; but, becoming panic-struck upon our approach, the whole body gave way with a general discharge of musquetry from right to left, which however occasioned little damage. Our soldiers despised taking a musquet from their shoulders to return this paltry fire; but our guns, being then loaded with grape-shot, poured it in amongst the fugitives without mercy or intermission; and, having the sand-hills to ascend before they could be screened from our view, great numbers of them fell. Continuing the pursuit, we reached the summit of the sand-hills, where, being stopped by a deep nullah from advancing any farther, a few more shots put an end to the carnage and fatigues of the day, with the loss on our side

sides of seventeen European and twenty black officers, besides fifty Europeans and five hundred sepoy killed and wounded.

Hyder had many of his principal officers amongst the number of the wounded and slain. In that of the latter, as I have already observed, was Meer Sahib, one of his bravest partisans; the man who had made the first impression upon Baillie's unfortunate detachment, who had conducted the siege of Vandewash, and was captain-general of his horse. At least four thousand Misorians were said to have fallen on the plains of Porto Nova; but it is difficult upon such an occasion exactly to ascertain the numbers, it being a religious maxim with the Mahomedans to carry off as many as possible of their slain. Monsieur Lally was wounded; and a Portuguese officer came over to us during the heat of the action.

Hyder and his army reached Chillumbrum before they once entertained a thought of rallying. It is impossible to describe to you the awful magnificence of the scene that our army beheld from the heights upon which it halted. The space, as far as the eye could reach, was entirely covered by multitudes of horse, foot, artillery, and heaps of baggage, all intermingled in the greatest confusion, flying in the utmost consternation, galloping across each other over an extensive plain, and raising such clouds of dust as almost to obscure the sky. The departing rays of the setting  
sun



fun added greatly to the grandeur of this splendid scene. Upon the conclusion of this hard-contested business, how mortifying was it to find that no other advantage had been gained by us after such extreme fatigue, than the simple possession of the field?—a compensation very inadequate to the loss of so many gallant soldiers. This might have been one of the most glorious and decisive victories ever obtained, had the General permitted the line to advance at an earlier period of the day. There cannot be a doubt but it would have finally terminated the war, as most of the enemy's guns must have inevitably fallen into our hands; for it was with the utmost difficulty they got them reconveyed across the nullah during the pursuit; a labour in which, by Meer Sahib's gallantry, and our own tardiness, they were singularly favoured. It was also a matter of surprise to many in the army that the British cavalry were not ordered to pursue the fugitives, there being, with Marrattas and others, a thousand in the camp—a number that might have done considerable execution against a flying enemy if properly conducted, particularly as they had eight light three-pounders dragged by horses constantly attached to them.

As soon as the wounded could be collected together, and the dead interred, our army crossed the nullah, which was in many places

places so filled with slaughtered enemies, that our soldiers could not avoid trampling upon their bodies as they passed, and in others so deep that they were up to the middle in water. We lay that night on its opposite banks, and next morning encamped upon the road leading to Cuddalore, where a *feu de joy* was fired, and the General's thanks delivered to the army.

It was to us an animating idea that Sir Edward Hughes's squadron witnessed the whole of this action. They dropped down abreast of us, and all the masts and yards in the fleet were covered with seamen, who in anxious expectation awaited the event. One of the small armed vessels came so very near the shore as to fire with good effect upon the body of the enemy's horse that attempted the baggage.

It might be thought unpardonable in me, were I to omit mentioning the manner in which Sir Eyre Coote was pleased to distinguish the steadiness of the seventy-third regiment in this battle. His Excellency seemed upon all occasions to have a predilection for the Highlanders, (if we may form such a conclusion from his generally taking post by them in the heat of action;) notwithstanding he exclaimed against more being sent to India. But the old general's motives for this were very admissible. He naturally supposed

supposed the transition too great from the cold of fifty-seven to the insufferable heat of thirteen degrees and an half north, which certainly carries much reason with it when duly considered.

The General, being in the rear of our regiment as the line advanced to action under a very heavy fire, fixed his eye upon the bagpiper, who stalked from right to left with astonishing composure, playing a favourite Highland march, as if the fate of the battle depended entirely upon his exertions: "Well done, my brave fellow!" exclaimed the veteran, "you shall have a silver pipe when this battle is over." And accordingly his Excellency presented the regiment with one hundred pagodas to purchase an handsome pipe in honour of that day.

Upon the 4th the army proceeded to Cuddalore, where many of the wounded were left, and where we were joined by some convalescents, that had been lodged there when we marched to Chillumbrum.

It is possible that matters would not have terminated so favourably for us, had not Tippo Sahib been absent, during the recent arduous struggle, in the north, with a considerable body of the Misore troops upon an expedition against Vandewash, intending afterwards to intercept the Bengal detachment under Colonel

H h

Pierce,

Pierce, which was now daily expected, and had almost completed a march towards us, little short of that made by the ten thousand under Xenophon. But, from innumerable impediments, and a superfluous degree of luxury and pomp supported upon their march, they approached very slowly; and General Sir Eyre Coote, perceiving that Hyder meant to avail himself of their delay, thought it his duty as speedily as possible to prevent the chance of a repetition of Baillie's fatal disaster. He therefore began an expeditious march to the northward, followed at a distance by the vanquished army of the enemy, and arrived at St. Thomas's Mount about the end of July. Both parties having now drawn nearer to each other, they were ordered to make a reciprocal movement; and, happily for the fate of the Carnatic, formed a junction near Pollicat, upon the 3d of August, without the least opposition from Hyder or his son; both of whom remained during this transaction uncommonly inactive at Congeveram.

This union augmented our force to twelve thousand men, and brought to us an excellent supply of draught and carriage bullocks. After having returned to St. Thomas's Mount, the army was formed into five brigades of infantry and one of cavalry. All the Europeans, commanded by Colonel James Crawford of the seventy-third regiment, composed the first brigade, the station of which was generally in the centre of the line. The other four  
brigades

brigades consisting of sepoy infantry were under Lieutenant-colonels Elphinston, Owen, Edmonston, and Blair; and the brigade of cavalry was led by Colonel Cosby; General Munro presiding over the right wing, and Colonel Pierce over the left. Two parks of artillery were also formed, one upon each flank of the European brigade; the Bengal being posted upon the right under Colonel Elliot; and the Madras artillery upon the left, under Major Mackay, besides two guns and an officer attached to each battalion in the line, and two light field-pieces, dragged by horses, to each regiment of dragoons. Such was the general order of battle, which, however, was frequently changed as occasion required.

Here the whole army, but our regiment in particular, had serious cause of regret, in the death of Major James M'Kenzie of the seventy-third, an officer of a benevolent character and approved merit. His steadiness in the field, and exemplary attention to the honourable discharge of his duty, were highly worthy of admiration; and it was in consequence of his exertions in the early part of this campaign that he was thus brought to his grave.

Since it had been hitherto found impracticable for those detachments, collecting in the Tanjore country, to join General Coote with safety, orders were now sent to draw them together as a party of observation for the defence of that district; and having by



various reinforcements become a formidable body of about five thousand men, Colonel Brathwate was sent thither from the presidency to command them; and they shall henceforth be distinguished by the appellation of the *southern army*.

Whilst we had thus been struggling through such difficulties to the southward, fresh troubles of no less magnitude were prepared for our encounter upon our return to the presidency; for, in the month of June 1781, a fleet of the Company's ships arrived safely at Madras, in one of which Lord Macartney came out with the appointment of governor of this settlement, having positive directions from the Company to commence hostilities against the Dutch without a moment's delay.

As our enemies increased, it was incumbent upon us to redouble our vigilance, and banish dissention. Bengal, which had hitherto succoured us with occasional aids, was now forced to abandon the protection of the Carnatic, being unable, without weakening that settlement in a great degree, to lend any further assistance to this; the Marratta war, which still raged with violence upon the other coast, requiring every exertion that could be made by the presidencies both of Bengal and Bombay. Our supplies of rice and money became therefore so trivial at this unhappy juncture, that nothing less than actual famine stared us full in the face. To alleviate

alleviate such calamities, and at the same time divert the attention of our enemies, seemed to require the utmost exertions both of deliberation and activity.

The first step of Lord Macartney, after his arrival at Madras, was to issue orders for all the British garrisons, contiguous to the most inconsiderable of the Dutch factories, to attack and possess themselves of them with dispatch; which order was punctually executed, much to the advantage of those who made lucrative acquisitions their principal aim.

The main army, during these operations, was making every preparation for a march to the siege of Arcot, and the relief of Vellore, whilst the enemy should retain fresh in their memory the traces of their panic and defeat at Porto Nova. For this purpose the troops, furnished with only eight day's rice, began their march thither upon the 16th of August. On the 20th they took fort Trippasore, that at the commencement of hostilities had fallen into the enemy's hands, and in which was found a seasonable supply of paddy, that was immediately issued out to the troops.

Hyder, whose army was then encamped at Congeveram, being speedily apprized of our intentions, mustered up sufficient courage to dispute the roads with us, which, being close and woody, greatly favoured his design.

As

As the British army advanced, his irregulars took every opportunity of obstructing its march; and, on the 27th of August, exactly upon the same grounds where Colonel Baillie had been defeated, he appeared, in full force, strongly posted behind the woods and village of Pollilooore. Inflamed by the dictates of a blind superstition, he entertained the vain idea that this was a lucky spot; and, under the influence of this suggestion, confident that victory would again declare for him upon ground consecrated by former success, he was encouraged to hazard a second general engagement.

The enemy's position was first announced to us by some guns unexpectedly opening upon our advanced guard. The fire from them was soon increased into a very hot cannonade, under which our line was irregularly formed upon broken grounds, every where intersected by deep nullahs. A front had no sooner been presented, though in a manner hasty and confused, to the guns of the enemy in one direction, than fresh batteries were opened from other quarters, upon both flanks and rear, by which means the line became divided and detached. The fourth brigade, under Colonel Pierce, was formed in a position to oppose the fire of our left flank; at the same time, the rest of the line, under Sir Hector Munro, changed front twice; first to the right and then to the left, under a very hot fire; whilst the second brigade, led by Colonel Edmonston, was ordered to attack the village of Pollilooore, then opposite to our right flank.

General Munro having, in the last manœuvre, formed his division in a parallel with the avenue described in the account of Colonel Baillie's defeat, he received orders to make a movement to the right; which he remarked, and many of the officers then round him thought, might be an hazardous enterprize, as by it his communication with the line would probably be cut off. This order he notwithstanding prepared immediately to execute; but at the same time recommended it to the General to make, in preference, a rapid advance to the village, and possess himself of the enemy's guns, the fire of which was attended with great execution. To this Sir Eyre made rather an hasty and unpremeditated reply; but as Sir Hector, in obedience to the will of the General, was in the act of putting his division in motion, he received a fresh order to advance to the village, as he himself had at first proposed; a measure that was attended with immediate success.

The enemy being, by these manœuvres, at length dislodged from every strong position on their left, Colonel Owen received directions to move with four battalions from our right wing to assist those upon our left in throwing the enemy's right flank into confusion; which, with a few more evolutions of the first line, attended with an incredible share of fatigue, soon put the whole to flight, and finished the action at sun-set.

This

This day was, at one period, nearly exhibiting a scene deeply fatal to the British interests in the Carnatic. Such was the disorder which prevailed through our whole army, that it frequently appeared upon the verge of annihilation, and from which the kind intervention of a gracious Providence seemed alone to rescue it. The excessive irregularity of the field of battle, which was intersected by broken grounds, deep nullahs, and impenetrable jungle, divided the battalions so much that they could not in any one place act in contact with each other, whilst the enemy's fire did such rapid execution amongst our men, as to throw some corps into confused and separate clusters. Thus each divided member was left in a manner to act for itself independent of the whole; a circumstance that, in the uncertain fate of battle, where success is only to be attained by uniformity of action, and the necessary dependance of one part upon another, is likely to produce the most disastrous effects. From these, however, we were happily saved, the fortune of the day, towards its conclusion, having taken for us a favourable turn.

Perhaps there come not within the wide range of human imagination scenes more affecting, or circumstances more touching, than many of our army had that day to witness and to bear. On the very spot where they stood lay strewed amongst their feet the relics of their dearest fellow-soldiers and friends, who, near twelve months



months before, had been slain by the hands of those very inhuman monsters that now appeared a second time eager to complete the work of blood. One poor foldier, with the tear of affection glistening in his eye, picked up the decaying spatterdash of his valued brother, with the name yet entire upon it, which the tinge of blood and effect of weather had kindly spared!—Another discovered the club or plaited hair of his bosom friend, which he himself had helped to form, and knew by the tie and still remaining colour!—A third mournfully recognised the feather which had decorated the cap of his inseparable companion! The scattered clothes and wings of the seventy-third's flank companies were every where perceptible, as also their helmets and sculls, both of which bore the marks of many furrowed cuts. These horrid spectacles, too melancholy to dwell upon, while they melted the hardest hearts, inflamed our soldiers with an enthusiasm and thirst of revenge, such as render men invincible; but their ardour was necessarily checked by the involved situation of the army.

That night the British forces encamped upon the field of battle, which was the only pretension we had to term this a victory. A *feu de joie* was, however, fired by both armies, as neither was willing to yield to the other the laurel of the day. Sir Eyre Coote returned his thanks to the troops, and to Sir Hector Munro in particular for his judicious recommendation of the spirited attack of the village.

The loss of the enemy, from their practice of carrying off their killed and wounded, as formerly remarked, it is always impossible to ascertain. On our side it consisted of six European officers killed, and seven wounded. Amongst the former were Colonel Brown and Captain Hislop, both deservedly regretted: in the number of the latter was Major-general Stuart, who unfortunately lost his leg in the beginning of the action. Five hundred sepoy and native officers, and seventy-four European privates, were also killed and wounded.

After two days halt on this ground, provisions became so scarce that we were forced to *fall back* (a delicate appellation given by some people to a *retreat*) to Trippasore for fresh supplies; to which place twelve days additional rice was sent to us from Madras, that we might again proceed towards our intended destination, but by another route.

The health of Sir Hector Munro having been for some time upon the decline, in consequence of a long residence in this climate, and the excessive fatigues to which the arduous business of the campaign had necessarily subjected him, when the army returned to Trippasore he obtained leave from Sir Eyre Coote to depart for Europe, which was accompanied by a letter from that veteran, expressive of his regret at losing the services of so experienced an officer at a time of such incumbent peril and requisite exertion.

Upon

Upon the 19th of September, the army again made a movement towards Vellore, pursuing a route close to the Pollicat and Sholangur mountains, which protected our right flank and baggage for the greatest part of the way.

Hyder, far from being dismayed by the recent discomfiture, was now desirous of trying his utmost force at the pass of Sholangur; where, having taken every necessary precaution, he again waited our approach in battle array. He seemed fully determined to make every opposition to the relief of Vellore, which was unremittingly invested by strong detachments of his forces, who by this time had not only erected batteries against it with some success, but also stormed and taken possession of one of the hill-forts, from which however they had been quickly dislodged by a brisk fall from the garrison.

Hyder's camp was pitched upon a very gentle declivity, with strong grounds and a tank of water in his front; his left flank being posted under the Sholangur hills.

The British army having advanced within a few miles of its adversary, encamped with its right flank covered by the same hills, and in a parallel situation with the enemy's line; which was, however, completely separated from ours by a long range of low rocks,

which ran down from the mountain of Sholangur betwixt the two armies.

Early in the morning of the 27th of September Sir Eyre Coote, with the second brigade and some cavalry, advanced to these rocks, and reconnoitred the enemy's camp, which he found still pitched, though their forces were forming in order of battle, and large bodies of horse seemed already advancing upon our left. The General upon this instantly dispatched orders to Colonel James Crawford, then second in command, to bring up the British army exactly in front. This order was very expeditiously obeyed, by advancing from the right of brigades until they came within view of the enemy; when a single line was again formed, the troops having afterwards marched by files from the right until a large tank of water covered that flank.

Hyder was this day so confident of victory, and affected such contempt for our force, that he left his camp standing in the rear, and boldly advanced his line into the hollow and unoccupied grounds between the two armies. The principal part of his horse composed the left wing under Tippe Sahib; on the right stood his grenadiers under Monf. Lally; and in the centre he commanded in person.

A brisk

A brisk cannonade began on both sides, which was on our part very warmly kept up; while the second brigade from our right, commanded by Colonel Edmonston, joined by the flank companies of the seventy-third regiment, and all the cavalry with their light guns, crept round the tank unobserved, and fell suddenly with all their fire upon the camp and left flank of the enemy; the rest of the army at the same instant advancing, and supporting a warm discharge of shot and grape, which threw the infantry and cavalry of that wing into confusion. Hyder, perceiving this, ordered Tippo to rally his horse, and try an experiment of the same kind upon the left of our line; in which attempt, however, they were so warmly received by the British artillery as to have their whole army thrown into general disorder, upon which Hyder thought it full time to draw off his guns. As a last effort, however, he was resolved to try what a desperate body of about a thousand horsemen could do, who had solemnly vowed upon the Alcoran to take the first favourable opportunity of breaking through the English line, and had that day been completely intoxicated with bang and opium, in order to excite a false courage for the execution of their desperate enterprise. These now received positive orders to charge; and with determined fury they advanced upon the thirteenth regiment of Bengal, and the seventeenth, eighteenth, and twenty-first battalions of Madras black troops, stationed upon our left; but those sepoy being well disciplined,

and



and commanded by undaunted veterans, reserved their fire, with a degree of coolness highly worthy of admiration and applause, until the assailing horse were within fifty yards of them, when they delivered a well levelled volley with fatal execution. The horsemen, however, forced their way through the intervals; but so far were they from breaking the battalions, that the latter went quickly to the right about, and gave the enemy a second fire in the rear, which caused them to pay a bloody price for their temerity.

By this time all the enemy's guns, excepting one, which fell into our hands, were entirely drawn off, and his line completely routed; the second brigade, and cavalry of the British, continuing the pursuit till sun-set, which put an end to the action. It was computed that the enemy had upwards of two thousand men and horses killed and wounded on that day. Ours, not exceeding one hundred, officers and men included, was but a trifling loss.

One cannot, upon reflection, but seriously lament the unfortunate check which was invariably given to the ardour of General Coote in all his exploits. He never was once provided with a sufficient quantity of provisions to render any one action decisive; for a victory was no sooner gained than he was forced to retire to Madras for a fresh supply of grain; a necessity which rendered battles fruitless, and the successful support of a war impossible.

After

After the battle of Sholangur, his situation was truly deplorable, for he was now positively denied any further succour from Madras, which was itself reduced to such extremities at this unfortunate period, as to be incapable of furnishing support to the inhabitants of the settlement. In this desperate state the fortitude and perseverance of General Coote shone most conspicuously. To such an extremity had matters come, that a rumour prevailed of part of the army being disbanded that the rest might be kept up. But Sir Eyre, having made a friend of Bum-Raze, one of the Pollar or Highland princes in our neighbourhood, and perceiving that the sepoys, so far from wishing to change their situation, were happy in this opportunity of proving their fidelity to the Company, and attachment to their commander, determined, until a change of fortune, to wander through the Pollams, under the auspices of this rajah, in quest of a daily subsistence, and to trust to Providence for the relief and protection of Vellore.

Under these circumstances of distress did the British army, guided by Bum-Raze, with only *one day's rice*, begin its march on the 1st of October through the Sholangur-pass; the second brigade being posted there as a guard: and, after a fatiguing march of two days amongst the hills, pitched its camp at Attamancherry, a village surrounded by incomparable natural beauties. This country is guarded from the rapine of barbarous enemies by inaccessible mountains

mountains and truly picturesque hills, that are every where adorned with a variety of beautiful shrubs, and the humble cottages of the Polligars, an independent and happy race of people; whose habitations are more remarkable for their romantic situation than magnificence of structure. Here, by the assistance of our only friend Bum-Raze, and our own assiduity, we lived in plenty and tranquillity for the space of several days; but, upon the 12th of the month, intelligence was hastily brought to the General, that about six thousand of the enemy's horse and foot had entered the Pollams by a secret pass, and had begun, with their usual rapine and barbarity, to plunder the villages and massacre the inhabitants. Sir Eyre instantly marched at the head of three battalions of sepoy, and all the cavalry; and, after supporting a share of fatigue, which at his years entitles him to admiration, completely surprised the whole of this party in their camp, in which were taken all their provisions, saddles, swords, and forty horses.

As soon as a sufficient portion of rice could be collected for the relief of the immediate distresses of Vellore, a large detachment, under Colonel Owen, consisting of one hundred European grenadiers, five battalions of sepoy, a regiment of cavalry, with two six-pounders and eight cavalry guns, was ordered to advance before the army, and take post at the pass of Veracundaloore, situated about twenty miles in front of us, in order to protect the Polligars,

Polligars, and others who endeavoured to throw some grain into the garrison of Vellore, as well as to distress the enemy, by blocking up their supplies of provisions, which usually came that way from the fort of Chittore to their camp then upon Timory Plains, about thirty miles distant from this pass.

But Colonel Owen had not remained long here before Hyder began to feel the great inconvenience of his situation; and who, by a masterly *coup de main*, soon made him alter his position; for, having made a forced march with his whole army, the Misore general unexpectedly reached Owen's camp on the 23d of October, before the smallest intimation could be received of his approach. It was with difficulty that our troops could snatch up their arms and form the line, before they were beset upon all quarters by horse, foot, and artillery. As no time could be spared for striking the tents, they, with the baggage, were designedly set on fire; and the chief object of contest was first to gain the possession of the pass betwixt Colonel Owen and our main army, which was now little more than one mile distant. Detachments were made from both parties with the greatest celerity for this purpose, but fortunately effected by ours, which soon brought on a close and general engagement. Though pressed and charged upon both flanks and rear, our troops stood with undaunted courage, until at last one attack, more furious than the rest, unfortunately took off one of our guns, and dispersed the battalion of sepoys that had charge of it.



it. But this disaster no sooner reached the ears of the European grenadiers under Captain Moore, than they, with the twenty-first battalion of sepoys, made a revengeful dash to the rear, by which they not only recovered the gun, but, with their fire and bayonets, gallantly laid one hundred and fifty of the enemy dead upon the spot. By this the rest of the sepoys were much encouraged; and they having now got entirely within the defile, and close to the main army, which had upon the first alarm moved to Colonel Owen's support, Hyder thought it in vain to continue the pursuit, and accordingly drew off his troops, much disgusted at his disappointment, for he had made himself sure of cutting off this detachment. Colonel Owen soon afterwards joined the main army, which encamped that evening at the village of Madowaddy, from whence a detachment was sent to bury the dead, which, with the wounded, amounted to three hundred rank and file, and seventeen European and native officers.

I cannot here help making the remark, that Colonel Owen had sufficient influence at *head-quarters* to procure ample compensation to his officers for the loss of their baggage upon this occasion, although those who sustained an equal loss under General Munro at Congeveram still remain neglected. No circumstances are so likely to depress the spirit of a soldier as an unjust preference and groundless partiality. These a prudent general will avoid, and a liberal master will despise.—But to return to my detail:

Upon



Upon the 26th of October the General moved his camp to Pollipet, whilst a detachment was sent back to Trippasore with the sick and wounded of the army. By the return of this party seventy thousand pagodas arrived safely in camp from the Presidency, which at so distressing a juncture was a very seasonable supply; and strongly indicated that money at Fort St. George was in greater plenty than rice. This detachment had also the good fortune upon its march back to seize seven hundred bullocks laden with salt, part of a large convoy that had been upon its way to Hyder's camp. A fortunate discovery was also at this time made of an immense quantity of rice that had been hidden under ground, not far from the town of Pollipet; which at last enabled us, on the 3d of November, to relieve the inconceivable distress that Vellore had experienced for a considerable time. During this march the enemy gave us very little trouble, though nothing less than another general action was expected by us.

Lord Macartney, from the time of his arrival at Madras, was indefatigable in the discharge of his public duty. I have already observed that he had issued directions for the capture of all the inconsiderable Dutch factories; in addition to which the siege of Negapatnam, their chief settlement upon this coast, was concerted, our fleet having blocked up both that place and Trinquammallee ever since accounts had transpired of the Dutch war.

Sir Eyre Coote, for what reason it is hard to determine, strongly remonstrated against the siege of Negapatnam at this season of the year; but Lord Macartney, steady in the prosecution of a measure so important and practicable, earnestly requested Sir Hector Munro, then waiting at Madras for a passage to Europe, in a very valetudinary state, to undertake the siege. The mind of this officer, soaring above the despicable cavilling so common in the councils of Madras, eminently qualified him for the execution of any advantageous enterprise, and now induced him to acquiesce with his lordship's entreaties, observing that, 'if it was thought he could be of service, he should cheerfully attempt it, though, in the state of health in which he then was, it might be at the hazard of his life.'

The fourthern army, under Colonel Brathwate, had been ordered to lay siege to Negapatnam in conjunction with the marines and seamen of the squadron; but, in consequence of a misunderstanding between that officer, the Commander in Chief, and Lord Macartney, nothing effectual had been done. The garrison likewise had by this time been strongly reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder Ally's troops, and consisted of seven thousand sepoy and upwards of six hundred Europeans. Experienced engineers had also for some time been putting the fortifications in the best possible state of defence.

Upon

Upon the 21st of October Sir Hector Munro, having taken upon him the command of the southern army, sat down before the place; and a detachment, consisting of four hundred and forty marines and eight hundred seamen, commanded by Captains T. Mackenzie, M'Koy, and Reynolds, besides the battering cannon, ammunition, and other implements for the siege, were instantly landed from our squadron, with surprising alacrity, in the midst of inconceivable fatigue.

With this reinforcement the enemy's lines and outworks were stormed and carried on the night of the 29th with the greatest briskness and spirit; after which the General gave immediate orders to break ground before the north face of the fort, which duty was executed by both soldiers and seamen with unexampled diligence and success. Sir Edward Hughes also, whose ardour in the service of his country was ever conspicuous, finding that his ships could not be brought close enough to the shore for a bombardment, thought proper to land, in order to concert measures the more readily with Sir Hector for the future operations of the siege.

After a large battery of ten eighteen-pounders had been completed within three hundred yards of the rampart, and a formidable breaching battery also constructed in another convenient situation, the garrison was summoned to surrender. The Dutch governor positively

positively resolved to stand a siege; and his troops, soon after the summons, made two brisk sallies from the fort, but were smartly repulsed by the marines and seamen in our trenches. Meanwhile General Munro ordered the batteries to be opened; which, by a furious discharge, soon demolishing the nearest bastion, the Dutch commandant was induced to sue for a parley; and an honourable capitulation was soon after agreed to, and signed upon the 11th of November\*. The southern army returned to its former station at Tanjore, where the command again devolved upon Colonel Brathwate, and a vessel was immediately dispatched with the prisoners to Madras; the fortifications of Negapatnam, the citadel excepted, being in a short time afterwards entirely demolished, according to orders from the Presidency.

Thus were two of the most formidable foreign garrisons upon the coast of Coromandel erased to the ground under the conduct and command of Major-general Sir Hector Munro; and what, to his honour as a man, will equal his reputation as a general, was his humane and magnanimous carriage towards those whom the fortune of war had placed within his power. The besieged and captive inhabitants of either place, instead of having cause to accuse him with the wanton commission of cruelties and injustice—an im-

\* During the siege about two hundred and fifty Europeans and three hundred blacks were killed and wounded.

peachment but too general and just in this licentious country! have echoed throughout the whole tract of Asia the most grateful panegyrics upon his benevolence, humanity, generosity, and good faith.

Sir Edward Hughes no sooner saw this capitulation signed than he re-embarked his seamen and marines, with some artillery, and about five hundred volunteer sepoys; and pushed on with his squadron for Trinquamallee, in the island of Celon.

Trinquamallee is rendered by nature one of the most spacious and commodious harbours in the East. It is completely landlocked upon every side, and large enough to contain the whole navy of Great Britain. The possessors of this place must necessarily command the whole coast of Coromandel, as from Bengal to Cape Comorin it is the only place of safety for ships during the prevalence of storms. In the monsoon seasons, particularly, every vessel that cannot take refuge in this basin must proceed upon a long and dangerous voyage to Bombay or other ports upon the coast of Malabar. Hence may be seen the importance to our nation of seizing this place in the beginning of a war, and, if possible, of ever afterwards retaining the possession of it.

Sir Edward, well knowing the great convenience of this harbour for his naval operations, had stationed a sixty-four gun ship



to block it up ever since the commencement of the siege of Negapatnam, and now he himself came before it with the whole of his squadron.

The entrance into this place is guarded by two forts; the one called Trinquamallee, and the other Osnaburg; which are built upon the two extremities of a peninsula three miles in length. The first is constructed upon ground rather low, guarding the neck; and the second is placed upon an hill which fully commands the entrance of the harbour.

Upon the 5th of January, 1782, the Admiral landed Lieutenant Orr, with his company of marine grenadiers, who that night gallantly stormed Fort Trinquamallee. Sir Edward, having reinforced the marines with some companies of seamen under Captain John Gell, of the navy, who of course took the command, ordered them next to proceed against Fort Osnaburg, which was immediately summoned to strike the Dutch flag to the English. Here some friendly letters passed betwixt the British admiral and the Dutch commandant; who, it seems, before the commencement of the war, had been upon terms of friendly intercourse with each other. The governor, Mr. Van Albert Homoed, however, replied that, ' he should be sorry to forfeit the good opinion either  
' of Sir Edward Hughes or of his own country, by a base surrender  
' of

‘ of the important charge with which he had the honour of being  
 ‘ intrusted, without first being compelled to it by a superior force;  
 ‘ and that he was confident Sir Edward himself was too much of  
 ‘ a patriot to entertain any other sentiments of one who had had  
 ‘ the good fortune to merit his friendship;’ or in words nearly to  
 that effect. It may easily be imagined how much the generous  
 feelings of the British admiral were agitated by this noble reply;  
 but the ties of duty and of honour called upon him to consider the  
 interest of his sovereign as preferable to every other concern. The  
 troops, therefore, were ordered to make an assault, in the morning  
 of the 11th, upon Fort Os naburg; and accordingly the storming  
 party, composed of four hundred and fifty seamen and marines,  
 supported by the rest of the detachment, made a movement at  
 daylight towards the fort. The advanced guard, getting in unper-  
 ceived at the embrasures of the lower fort, was immediately fol-  
 lowed by the whole of the storming party, who soon drove the  
 enemy from their works, and possessed themselves of the fort.  
 The loss, on either side, was small; ours amounting to no more  
 than four officers, with about sixty marines and seamen, killed  
 and wounded. Here Sir Edward resolved to remain with his  
 squadron during the monsoon season, having garrisoned the two  
 forts with the detachment of volunteer sepoy and artillery, em-  
 barked at Negapatnam, under the command of Captain Bonnevo.

Nothing could have been of more immediate consequence to the interests of Britain, in the East, than the reduction of these two Dutch garrisons so early in the war. That of Negapatnam, in particular, was the origin of several favourable events. It put into our hands a very important key to the Tanjore country and other southern provinces; and in some measure contributed to bring about a reconciliation with the Polligars of Marawa and Tinavelly, who had been, through the machinations of Hyder Ally, in open rebellion against the Company.

The main army, under Sir Eyre Coote, after having relieved Vellore, were permitted to remain there for refreshment for two or three days. That garrison, like most others in the Carnatic, is constructed in the form of a square, and is surrounded by a remarkable broad and deep wet ditch, in which vast numbers of alligators are carefully reared, that the passage may appear more terrific in the eyes of an enemy. These are amphibious animals of great magnitude, and of the same species with the crocodile. I cannot here omit relating the singular manner in which the invalids and old soldiers of Vellore amuse the gentlemen of the army, or others, when they visit that place. Whenever they learn that the army is expected, they endeavour to collect all the useless dogs and cats in the garrison, which they sell, for one or two rupees each, to such gentlemen as delight in cruelties, who throw them into the ditch,

ditch, for the alligators to snap at. Great numbers of these voracious monsters immediately gather round the unfortunate victim, which is instantly torn in pieces by them. Notwithstanding the imminent danger in being immersed in this ditch, some of those old soldiers, for a bottle of arrack, will strip and swim across it, with a dagger in their hands, without sustaining any harm; which is a proof that these animals are sometimes to be intimidated by noise. A sepoy one day, washing himself at the verge of this fosse, happened carelessly to let his turban drop into the water; in his attempt to recover which an alligator seized him, and in an instant his mutilated body appeared floating in different parts of the ditch. They are likewise very swift upon dry ground, and have the same difficulty in turning that the crocodile is said to possess. An officer, going out one morning early to shoot, in passing along the counter-scarp of this ditch, was suddenly pursued by one of these animals that had been basking upon a bank, and would certainly have been overtaken had he not had the presence of mind to jump quickly aside, and shoot him in the turning.

The army, being reinforced by Colonel Laing with one hundred European grenadiers from Vellore, proceeded to the attack of Chittore, which made a gallant defence for some days, but capitulated upon a breach being effected in the rampart. The ninth battalion of sepoys, under Captain Lamotte, was left there as a

garrison; but so persuaded were the discerning part of our army that this place must soon fall again into the possession of the enemy, that many of the officers left letters with those of the ninth battalion, to be delivered to their friends in prison at Seringapatnam, and other places under Hyder, when that probable event should take place. Here Captain Tippet of the engineers, a valuable and experienced officer, was killed by a random shot, and the General received a slight contusion in the neck from the splinter of a stone, which the shot had raised as he was reconnoitering.

Whilst we were laying siege to Chittore, Tippe Sahib marched against Captain Temple, who had been left with a few heavy guns and his battalion of sepoys to protect some baggage that remained behind at Pollipet, and to look out for more grain in the absence of the army. But he and his sepoys were soon forced to disperse themselves amongst the hills, and relinquish their charge to the enemy.

Hyder, finding himself thus attacked in a country inaccessible to his main force (the cavalry), thought that the most eligible plan to draw our attention from this quarter was to lay siege to Trip-pasore, which partly had the desired effect; for Tippe Sahib no sooner moved from Pollipet, and opened his guns against that place, than Sir Eyre, from that and other motives, marched back by the



Pollams, where Captain Temple and his battalion rejoined the line, and on the 20th of November came out through Naggary pass, when the army was overtaken by a violent monsoon-storm of wind and rain, which, by overflowing the pasturage, occasioned the loss of a vast number of our cattle, and gave such a shock to the feeble constitutions of the Indians, that no less than six hundred souls perished upon the banks of the Trippasore, through fatigue and hunger, before the water had sufficiently abated to admit of crossing the river.

Tippo now raised the siege of Trippasore and retired to Arcot, from whence he and his father, as was expected, immediately marched and finished this campaign with the recapture of Chittore, and the conquest of the ninth battalion of sepoys; which, after having honourably capitulated, was, to the shame of Indian faith, denied the privileges of that sacred engagement.

About this time proposals were made to Hyder for an exchange of our Europeans for about one thousand of his black troops that had been taken in fort Trippasore. This haughty Chief returned for answer, ‘ That he knew better than to exchange  
 ‘ European prisoners for a set of dastardly scoundrels, whose heads,  
 ‘ to a man, when they returned to him, he would assuredly chop  
 ‘ off.’

‘ off.’ Upon which most of them were dismissed, as we had not provisions for their support.

The monsoon season being now fairly set in, the army received orders, on the 2d of December, to break up their camp on the Cocolore plain, and march into cantonments in the environs of Madras; and Hyder Ally having done the same in Arcot, the campaign of 1781 was thus brought to a conclusion.

CAMPAIGN

C A M P A I G N    O F    1782.

---

L E T T E R    X V.

Madras, December 1782.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I REJOICE to find, by your last favour, that the plan which I have adopted of transmitting to England one general letter at the conclusion of each campaign meets with your approbation; as short and unconnected communications, sent at different periods, might not only tend to break the thread of my narrative, but also to render the information which I am enabled to give less perfect and particular. I now resume the detail of warlike discord in this quarter of the globe, and commence the present letter at the period which marked the conclusion of my last.

Our army mustered much about the same force in the beginning of the present campaign as it did when the last ended.

The

The object of our first movement was the relief of Vellore, which had been constantly blocked up by the enemy, and had almost expended the supply of three months rice, which the army had with great difficulty thrown into it at the close of the preceding campaign. The garrison of Vellore, being now the only key that remained in our possession to the passes leading into the enemy's country, became an object of the utmost importance to us. In order, therefore, to facilitate its relief, the army, whilst it remained in winter-quarters, had been chiefly employed in escorting grain to Pondamalee and Trippasore, garrisons conveniently situated upon the intended route it was to take.

Hyder, being constantly upon the watch to guard against the relief of Vellore, was soon apprised of our destination, and with his whole force prepared to receive us within a few miles of that place.

Sir Eyre Coote chose to march the army thither by the Sholangur road, in order to have its right flank, as we advanced with the convoy, covered by the Pollam hills; and Hyder, having taken post opposite to a large tank bordering upon a morass, through which our route necessarily lay, used all his efforts, when we reached that spot, to clog our heels and cut off the escort; but luckily the hills afforded us such protection that all his endeavours proved

proved ineffectual, and we relieved the garrison of Vellore upon the 11th of January, with six months rice; having lost three subalterns, and about seventy men killed and wounded, during the skirmishes which we had had upon the march.

This disappointment exasperated Hyder Ally to such a degree that he resolved to lay a formidable snare for us upon our return to the Presidency. He accordingly gave orders for three sluices to be opened in the bank of the aforementioned tank or pond, through which the water soon overflowed the adjacent slough of about five hundred yards in breadth, and it being afterwards trampled down by his horse became almost impassable for infantry. At the distance of a cannon-shot, and opposite to this morass, was a semicircle of rising ground, that extended to about a mile in length; upon which were placed large batteries of twenty-four pounders, besides his field-artillery, cautiously masked by thickets and brushwood, all pointing directly into the slough. Only a few columns of horse were brought in view, having drawn up the rest of his line behind the same cover; and in this manner he waited our approach.

On the 13th we departed from Vellore, and, returning by the same road, without the least suspicion of these hostile preparations, our line entered the slough, which it was permitted quietly to pass, until the European brigade, then nearly in the centre, had

M m

got



got quite entangled in the mud. Upon this Hyder let fly a signal rocket for the batteries to play, and in an instant upwards of fifty guns furiously opened upon us ; but our troops, being well inured to these sudden assaults, shewed uncommon firmness upon this occasion, and, with great regularity and briskness, pushed forward and formed upon the other side. Hyder's design being thus frustrated, he drew off his guns after exchanging some shots with the British line, and retreated under the walls of Arcot with his usual activity, leaving us in the evening to continue our march unmolested to Pondamalee, where we arrived upon the 20th ; having lost upon this expedition six officers and about thirty Europeans, with one hundred sepoy killed and wounded\*.

The squadron and force which had sailed from England for the attack of the Cape of Good Hope, under Commodore Johnston and Major-general Meadows, had been ordered, after they had judged that place to be impracticable, to proceed to India, under the direction of Commodore Alms. This fleet having met with severe

\* For the satisfaction of my Highland friends, I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of *John Mackay*, alias *Donn*, a corporal in the seventy-third regiment, son to *Robert Donn*, the famous Highland bard, whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry was held in such esteem by the *Highland Society*. This son of the bard has frequently revived the drooping spirits of his countrymen upon the march, by singing in a pleasant manner the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon-ball on the 13th, and on the same evening was interred by his disconsolate comrades with all the honours of war.

weather

weather off the coast of Arabia, as it was steering for Bombay, and Commodore Alms thinking his voyage might become too tedious for rendering the service requisite upon the coast of Coromandel at this critical period, judiciously selected four men of war, and his best sailing transport, with seven hundred of the ninety-eighth regiment on board, under Lieutenant-colonel Fullarton; and, accompanied by Major-general Meadows, pushed forward to Trincomalee, where he very opportunely joined Sir Edward Hughes's squadron in the beginning of February.

All the rest of the transports and troops, excepting the forty-second regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod, arrived soon afterwards at Bombay, from whence they immediately sailed for the Coromandel coast; but Lieutenant-colonel Humberston Mackenzie, who commanded the division, finding that, should that plan be pursued, they were likely to fall into the hands of the French, judged it more expedient to make a diversion upon the Malabar coast in favour of the general cause. He accordingly disembarked his troops at Calicut upon the 18th of February, which consisted of part of the ninety-eighth regiment, four independent companies, and the hundredth regiment; making in all about one thousand effective men.

A short time preceding this we had also accounts from the Malabar coast of a successful sally having been made by the garrison of Tillicherry, under the direction of Major Abingdon of the Company's service, in which Hyder Ally's nephew, named Surdar Cawn, who conducted the siege, his whole family and seraglio, with fifteen hundred sepoy, were made prisoners; the Major having likewise taken fifty guns and thirteen elephants, besides horses, and a quantity of military stores. By this event the enemy was forced to raise a siege which had lasted for the space of almost two years.

The garrison of Callicut soon afterwards surrendered to Major Abingdon, in which were found one hundred pieces of cannon, with many other valuable stores; but, upon Colonel Humberston's arrival, the command on that coast of course devolved upon him, and great part of Major Abingdon's troops were soon ordered to join his little army in the field.

The prosperity which now dawned upon us was soon overcast by an unexpected event. A formidable fleet of French men of war and transports having anchored off Pollicat on the 7th of February, the natural conclusion now was, that the garrison of Madras was about to be besieged; and, though the army was at this  
time

time close in its environs, there seemed but little prospect of repelling with success such a powerful force, both by sea and land, as our squadron was at that time absent at Trinquamallee. The consternation into which we were thrown by this unexpected incident was, however, next day in some measure alleviated by the sudden appearance of Sir Edward Hughes's fleet, which, as was said before, having been luckily reinforced by Commodore Alms's division, now amounted to nine line of battle ships, one frigate and a fireship. On that night the British squadron anchored abreast of the fort, and the merchant vessels and small craft were ordered to draw closer in towards the shore, and place themselves under cover; Sir Edward, in the mean time, taking on board his fleet three hundred officers and men of the ninety-eighth regiment, to act as marines.

The French squadron was commanded by the Chevalier de Suffrein, and consisted of twelve ships of the line, four frigates, one bomb, and one cutter, six captured vessels, and eight large armed transports, with three thousand land troops on board, under the command of Monf. Duchemin. On their voyage to this country they were so fortunate as to fall in with and overpower the Hannibal of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Christie, coming from England with dispatches, which vessel is included in the French list of the line specified above.

Early

Early in the morning of the 15th the whole of the French fleet were perceived to be under way, steering towards the Roads of Madras, with a strong sea-breeze in their favour; and about two o'clock in the afternoon they drew up and anchored in a line of battle a-breast, at the distance of about a league from the British squadron, when they held a council of war.

Three hours had elapsed in this position, each party anxiously awaiting the event, and flattering itself with the sanguine hope of a successful and decisive combat; but it appeared that the prevailing opinion in the council of war, which had been held on board the French Admiral's ship, condemned the attack of Sir Edward Hughes's squadron whilst at anchor, as had been first intended; and even determined that every attack whatever was, if possible, to be avoided, until the land troops could be disembarked in some convenient place, where they might form a junction with Hyder Ally Cawn, this being their principal object in appearing at present upon the Coromandel coast.

They accordingly weighed again and stood to the southward, when Sir Edward, determined not to lose sight of his enemy, made the signal to slip and chase, and quickly followed them with his inferior force. At day-light next morning he found that the enemy's ships had separated in the night; the men of war bearing eastward



eastward of him, and the frigates and transports south-west, steering apparently for Pondicherry. To the latter the British Admiral judiciously gave chase, and captured six sail of ships and vessels, five of which had been taken from us to the northward of Madras, and the sixth was the *Lauriston*, a transport, captured by the *Ifis*, Captain Lumley, which contained many French officers, with three hundred men of the regiment of Laufanne, and was besides deeply laden with a valuable cargo of military stores.

The French fleet, in their endeavour to save their transports, necessarily closed with ours, and, on the afternoon of the 17th, a hot action ensued off Sadras; which, though not decisive, was highly honourable to Sir Edward, and well fought upon both sides.

Our squadron, having suffered considerably, proceeded for a temporary repair to Trinquamallee, and from thence speedily returned to Madras. In our fleet there were only one hundred and twenty-seven men killed and wounded. Among the former were Captains Stevens of the *Superb* and Reynolds of the *Exeter*; brave officers, both greatly lamented by their gallant commander.

Meanwhile Tippe Sahib, with an army of twenty thousand horse and foot, and twenty guns, accompanied by Monf. Lally and four

hundred French soldiers, having entered the Tanjore country to raise contributions, unexpectedly surrounded a detachment of the southern army, commanded by Colonel Brathwate, consisting of two thousand infantry, three hundred horse, and thirteen guns, which had encamped at the village of Combiconum, near the banks of the Coleroon; a place that till then had been deemed perfectly secure from surprise. But Tippo Sahib soon convinced the Colonel that an enterprising spirit can conquer every difficulty. The detachment was furiously attacked upon all quarters, and first endeavoured to make good their retreat to Tanjore; but, finding that measure impracticable, a desperate battle ensued. The British troops fought with uncommon gallantry, but were finally overpowered by the impetuosity of fresh numbers constantly pouring in upon them, and a dreadful slaughter took place, in which the enemy's horse exercised their wonted cruelties to such a degree, that, had it not been for the generous interference of the French, scarce a man would have escaped with his life.

This action lasted for the space of twenty-six hours before the British troops were wholly vanquished. Of twenty officers belonging to the detachment, twelve were killed and wounded; in which latter number was Colonel Brathwate, who displayed great composure and gallantry upon this trying occasion, as did Lieutenant Sampson, commanding the corps of cavalry; and indeed every  
other

other officer of the party. All the sepoys were either cut to pieces or dispersed. The southern army was so weakened by this unfortunate disaster as to be incapable, for some time afterwards, of appearing openly in the field.

Upon this signal victory Tippo Sahib marched forthwith to Porto Nova, where most of the French squadron had put in after the last action, in a very shattered condition, having had a great part of their convoy dispersed. All the infantry and marines of their fleet were now disembarked, and joined Tippo Sahib's army on the 10th of March; who, with this reinforcement, immediately marched against the garrison of Cuddalore, which capitulated, by orders from the Presidency, without a shot being fired.

This being done, and Mons. Suffrein having given a slight repair to his ships, the French fleet sailed with the utmost expedition to Battacolo, a port in the island of Celon; from whence a frigate was dispatched to Point de Galle (their appointed rendezvous) in quest of their dispersed transports, which soon rejoined them at the former place. The Bellona frigate was also sent upon a cruise to the northward of Madras, where she took from us the Chafer sloop of war with many valuable traders.

The British squadron was at this time luckily reinforced by the Sultan and Magnanime ships of the line, with a convoy of Indiamen from England, which had brought out with them Seaforth's regiment, consisting of one thousand Highlanders.

Sir Edward Hughes having now equipped his fleet entirely to his wish; for the India ships that had just arrived spared him a greater portion of seamen than had been lost in the last action; and, having taken on board the remainder of the ninety-eighth regiment to complete his marines, again sallied forth in quest of the enemy.

Major-general Meadows, who had now been a sufficient length of time at Madras to discover all the anarchy and dissention which prevailed in that Presidency, plainly saw that little military fame could be acquired under such inconsistent management, and therefore resolved to return home by the first opportunity; but, until a vessel could be found that was destined for Europe, the General chose to accompany Sir Edward Hughes as a volunteer upon this cruise.

The British admiral fortunately fell in with the French fleet off Trinquammallee, just as they had set sail from Batacolo, with the intention of landing the rest of their troops upon the continent of

India. This happened on the 9th of April; and on the 12th, during which interval the fleets never lost sight of each other, a truly memorable and bloody battle ensued, which reflected the brightest glory on both their commanders. In this action, perhaps the hottest in which the navies of either country were ever engaged, each ship strove to excel its opponent in feats of desperate heroism, particularly the two on board of which the respective flag of each admiral was displayed; for, at pistol-shot distance, such was the effect of their incessant and destructive fire, that the very sea for a considerable space around them was perfectly becalmed. The British admiral at last perceived that the fire of the French *Hero* considerably slackened, upon which he gave orders to board her; but his gallant design was instantly frustrated by a dreadful explosion on the fore-castle of the *Superb*, occasioned by the carelessness of a midshipman, by which no less than seventy persons were unfortunately destroyed. Yet such was the ardour of his tars upon the lower decks, that they continued, without intermission, to thunder upon the French *Hero*; which, by that time completely silenced and greatly disabled, was taken off by her seconds. Thus, neither party being willing to yield the smallest advantage to the other, they continued the slaughter until the fall of night put an end to the contest; which, from their equality in prowess, though not in numbers, was left undecided. In the British fleet one hundred



and thirty-seven men were killed, and four hundred and thirty wounded.

In a situation the most disabled and impotent, both squadrons dropped anchor nearly on the spot where the action had been fought, within random shot of each other; but such had been the dreadful nature of the preceding conflict, that neither seemed inclined to renew it. Their ships greatly shattered, and men overpowered by fatigue, there seemed to be for a time a mutual and tacit cessation to enmity. In this manner both fleets lay till the morning of the 19th, when the enemy's got under sail, and made a kind of offer to renew the action; but, perceiving the British prepared for their reception, they stood off to the eastward towards Battacolo to refit; and Sir Edward Hughes, in a few days afterwards, entered Trinquamallee harbour with a similar intent. When General Meadows returned to Madras he spoke in the highest terms of the British Admiral's cool and deliberate intrepidity.

A dreadful sickness soon after this prevailed in the squadron, which obliged Sir Edward to remain about two months at Trinquamallee; during which period Monsr. Suffrein, after having refitted, and finding his squadron fall short of provisions, failed to Trinquabar, where three Dutch Indiamen had arrived from Battavia with

with rice and other necessaries, and from thence proceeded to Cudalore, where he remained for some time meditating the attack of Negapatnam.

About this period a transaction passed, which raised great disgust in the minds of the British army, and drew forth their reproaches against those whom they considered as the cause of the subsequent distresses of many of their gallant countrymen. From the number of seamen which the French squadron had at different times captured in our traders and other vessels, particularly in the Hannibal man of war, and Fortitude Indiaman, Mons. Suffrein was greatly at a loss both for provisions and quarters for his prisoners, which induced him to solicit for an exchange with us, who had then about three hundred French soldiers in our custody at Madras; he at the same time candidly declaring, that otherwise he should be under the necessity of delivering them up in charge to his Misorian allies. It appeared, however, that the unanimity requisite to effect a business, even of this trivial importance, did not subsist between the members of the Council and Commander of the army at Madras; and it consequently became the fate of upwards of three hundred British subjects, like too many others before them, to be immured in the prisons of Bangalore, and other garrisons in the Misore country, which, to our shame be it said, were by this time teeming with British captives. It is impossible to say, without a  
 serious

serious investigation, which it certainly merits, against whom the odium of this disgraceful business ought to be chiefly directed. To have fallen, by the unavoidable fate of war, into the hands of an enemy, was a sufficient misfortune; but that those poor fellows should, through the neglect or design of their countrymen, be thrown into such miserable captivity, was an aggravation that roused the warmest resentment of every feeling heart.

Hyder was no sooner apprised of Monf. Suffrein's squadron being at Cuddalore than he marched his army down from Arcot to the Red-hills of Pondicherry, where he was joined by all the French troops, and amused himself by laying siege to Permacoil; which, from the mutinous state of the garrison, and the scarcity of provisions and water, capitulated in a few weeks after it was besieged.

The Council of Madras having conceived that the movements of the main army, under General Coote, were to be entirely regulated by the success of our squadron; or, rather, being apprehensive of their own safety in its absence; caused it to remain for three whole months at St. Thomas's Mount in a state of shameful inactivity, at a time when, by a march to Porto Nova, it might have opposed the junction of the French forces with Tippu Sahib, or at any rate prevented the fall of Permacoil and Cuddalore. But,  
instead

instead of rendering these essential services, its whole employment, during this alarming period, consisted in the escorting of rice to the garrison of Chingliput, in order to facilitate a circuit which afterwards took place, without answering the least good purpose: and indeed it was vain to expect any thing but fruitless expeditions from an army so oppressed by followers and baggage, and which never could carry with it into the field, at any one time, more than a month's provisions.

At last General Coote, after being joined in the end of April by the seventy-eighth, or Seaforth's regiment of Highlanders, about eight hundred strong, advanced south by Carangooly and Vandewash towards the confederates, who were then encamped upon the Red-hills of Pondicherry.

This was the first trial which the seventy-eighth regiment had had of Oriental marching, and they consequently suffered severely. Their distresses reminded me much of those which our own corps experienced upon a like occasion in the march of August 1780 to Congeveram. By dear-bought experience, however, those that now remained of the seventy-third regiment were well inured with the climate, very seldom ever dropping a man behind; which enabled us upon these occasions to extend our sympathy and assistance to our sinking and oppressed countrymen. They, like all other inexperienced

rienced soldiers, were not contented with simply moistening their mouths, but eagerly swallowed immense quantities of bad water in the heat of perspiration, which was speedily productive of the most fatal effects; for, out of seven hundred that might parade in good spirits at day-break in the morning, scarcely one hundred were to be seen standing by their colours when the army encamped in the evening, every gun and cart in the line being loaded with their sick. This regiment was composed of men sinewy and robust, which rendered them much more susceptible of the sun's violence than those of a more slender habit.

On the second day's march from Vandewash we got a full view of the enemy, when the General thought it advisable to make a diversion in order to separate the allies, and, if possible, to draw them from the commanding grounds, which they then possessed, to a less advantageous situation. For this purpose he suddenly changed his route to the west, and next night encamped before the fort of Chitaput; seemingly with the intention of attacking that garrison, which had immediately the desired effect; for Hyder no sooner heard of the course which we had taken than he came quickly to its relief, leaving his French allies behind him.

General Coote upon this struck off further to the west for the garrison of Arnè, which gave still greater alarm to Hyder, as we

now



now seemed to have a design against his principal magazine and treasury. This caused him to redouble his expedition in the pursuit; and upon the 2d of June, about three miles from that fort, his advanced parties came up with our rear-guard, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Elphinston of the seventy-third regiment, and opened upon it full twenty pieces of cannon, which were quickly followed by all the guns of his army. Colonel Elphinston maintained his ground with his usual spirit and intrepidity, until the General had formed the army into a single line, by causing the troops to face about, and file off to the left of the rear battalion; he having at the same time posted a brigade of infantry, and the cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Owen, to protect the baggage in our rear; and in this manner the cannonade became general and warm upon both sides.

The British line was no sooner formed than it made a rapid advance upon the enemy's guns. At this auspicious moment a beautiful antelope was perceived bounding in full speed from right to left between the two armies; a circumstance that, in ancient days, would have been accounted an omen; and, by a Roman general, turned to some material advantage in an army where superstition presided so much as in ours. The Misorians soon retreated and renewed the cannonade, whilst the British were forced to halt until Lieutenant-colonel Owen should come up with that unwieldy

mafs of baggage, which always retarded our moft important operations. This being done, we advanced again upon the enemy at a quick pace, who instantly retreated acrofs the river of Arnè; but they were fo clofely purfued by the British forces, that feven tumbrils, which had got entangled in the bed of the river, foon became a prize to the spirited and manly exertions of the Honourable Captain James Lindfay of the feventy-third regiment. He, perceiving a battalion of the enemy's fepoys endeavouring to extricate the tumbrils, judiciously concluded, that, in order to capture them, time was not to be loft in fending for orders; and accordingly pushed forward to them with the greateft celerity at the head of his grenadier company, fupported by the reft of the feventy-third, under Major George Mackenzie; and, difperſing the Miſſorians, quickly made the tumbrils his prize. This bold puſh encouraged a battalion of Bengal ſepoys upon the left, immediately after, to make an attempt of the ſame nature upon one of the enemy's guns, which they perceived before them in a like predicament, and which was alſo ſeized. General Coote ſeeing both theſe corps in purſuit of the fugitives, and that their ardor was not to be reſtrained, ordered to their ſupport the reſt of the European grenadiers, the light infantry, and a regiment of cavalry with ſome guns, which, when united, purſued the enemy a little further, and then returned to the line; when the General highly commended Captain Lindſay's gallantry,

although

although he had acted without orders; and also thanked the Bengal sepoys, and those by whom the assailants had been so well supported.

It is but justice to mention that in this action fell *Meer Sally*, black commandant of the fourth battalion of Madras sepoys, whose attachment to the Company, and whose bravery and experience in military affairs, were universally respected and admired. This valuable officer fell a sacrifice to that spirit of predestination which universally prevails amongst Mahomedans. He was requested to stand out of the way of a random shot that was coming directly towards his battalion, which he scornfully refused to do, saying "*Let God's will be done,*" and he was instantly killed. General Coote testified his good opinion of this brave man, by immediately appointing his brother, who was an inferior officer in the same corps, to succeed him in his command. About one hundred and fifty officers and privates were killed and wounded in this affair.

The British army encamped that night upon the field of battle, and next day sat down before Arnè, with an intent to besiege it; but, after making a few ostentatious evolutions before that place, the scarcity of grain forced us expeditiously back to Madras.

At the village of Niddingull, upon our return from Arnè, the imprudence of a zealous though unexperienced officer, opposed to the artifice and craft of Hyder Ally, occasioned the loss of our grand guard by a masterly *coup de main* of the latter: who, upon this occasion, displayed an uncommon share of address. After having pitched our tents, and stationed all the outposts in the environs of our camp, the troops began to refresh themselves in their usual unconcerned manner, when Hyder Ally, with three thousand of his best horse, came quietly to reconnoitre the camp directly opposite to the grand-guard, which was then under arms, and consisted of one regiment of black cavalry, two guns, and one hundred infantry, strongly posted at the skirt of a wood, a little way in front of our army. Hyder had no sooner seen their position than he threw in fight two or three loaded elephants and camels to attract their attention, keeping his main body of horse concealed in the woods behind. This bait had the desired effect, for the officer was induced to quit his post without hesitation, and advance with his whole guard to seize the imaginary prize. Hyder's horse immediately rushed out of their concealments; and, notwithstanding the gallant defence which they made, the whole party were in an instant cut in pieces.

After sustaining this heavy loss we proceeded to Vandewash, where some stores and ammunition had been left; and on the 20th

of



of June reached the Mount, when it appeared by the casualty-rolls of the army that about one hundred and fifty had been killed and wounded at Arné; and that, from the extreme heat and fatigue of marching, Seaforth's corps had lost one hundred and fifty privates and two officers. To this number may also be added the three hundred that formed the grand-guard, making in all six hundred fighting men lost upon this fruitless excursion.

Monf. Suffrein, being well acquainted with the sickly state of our Squadron at Trinquammallee, determined to avail himself of that misfortune by laying siege to Negapatnam, and by that means get to possession of our principal key to the Tanjore country; but Sir Edward Hughes, having apprehensions of such a design, had moved to Negapatnam road in the end of the preceding month.

On the 5th of July, the French squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line besides frigates, came in sight of the British, then lying at anchor in Negapatnam road. The latter instantly weighed and stood towards the enemy. On the following morning a very warm engagement ensued, in which the Admirals of both fleets set a valiant and animating example to their respective followers. Ours was well supported; and, having the wind in his favour, soon broke the French line: in the reforming of which Monf. Suffrein displayed prodigies of gallantry; for, whilst he engaged his enemy on one side, he was seen discharging his guns from the other  
upon



upon those ships of his own squadron which had quitted the line in disobedience to his orders.

The French admiral, from the misconduct of some of his captains, was forced at length to withdraw from the fight, and push for Cuddalore roads; and, had Sir Edward Hughes's signals for the chase been properly observed, this might have proved a very decisive action. The *Severe*, of sixty-four guns, had actually struck her flag to the Sultan, Captain Watt, and had for some time lain under her stern; but, whilst the latter was wearing to join the British admiral, her prize made sail and regained her own fleet. This ship was formally demanded from Monf. Suffrein on the following day; but to this requisition he returned an evasive answer, saying that the ensign of the *Severe* had been shot away by accident, not hauled down by design. Here Sir Edward Hughes had another gallant and experienced officer killed by his side—Captain Maclellan, of the *Superb*, whose fall was universally lamented.

Our fleet, which had suffered but little upon this occasion, either in killed or wounded, returned to Negapatnam; which was no sooner known at the Presidency of Madras than the *Sceptre*, of sixty-four guns, just arrived from England, and the *St. Carlos* armed ship, loaded with stores and recovered seamen, were dispatched thither, that no time might be lost by the British admiral in pur-

fuing the advantages which he had gained. But Sir Edward, not expecting such alacrity in the forwarding of his views, and finding that his ships were in want of stores of every kind, judged it proper to return immediately to Madras for a supply, where he continued refitting till the 20th of August. By his movement from Negapatnam the other two ships missed the fleet; and in their return to Madras narrowly escaped being taken by three French men of war, that had kept a close pursuit after them the greatest part of the way.

Sir Edward, finding that he could not get his squadron so expeditiously equipped as he expected, detached in the mean time the two best sailing ships of his fleet, with two hundred men from the forty-second and seventy-eighth regiments, commanded by Captain Hay Macduel of the former, to reinforce Trinquamallee, who consequently superseded Captain Bonnevo of the Company's service, that had been left there with the sepoys to put the fortifications in repair. This detachment arrived safely at Celon, and the ships rejoined Sir Edward Hughes on the 12th of August, having been chased great part of the way back by a division of the French fleet.

Upon Captain Macduel's arrival at Trinquamallee, he found the two forts, but particularly the lower one, in so weak a state of defence that the labour of some months was requisite to render

render them in any degree tenable; and, what was still worse, the stores and ammunition were so injudiciously distributed, that the greatest part of the powder lay in one of the forts, whilst the balls were lodged in the other. Captain Macduel had scarcely begun to remedy this evil, when he found himself besieged by the active Suffrein, who had secretly sailed from Cuddalore to Battacolo, where he was joined, on the 24th of August, by two line-of-battle ships and a formidable body of troops, with which force he quickly laid siege to Trinquamallee. Captain Macduel, thus attacked, made as good a stand as his defenceless situation would admit of, but was forced to capitulate on the 30th; by which event the most convenient and essential harbour in India was lost to the British crown.

This was immediately followed by another action betwixt the two fleets, which took place upon the 3d of September. Sir Edward Hughes, having sailed from Madras with an intention to prevent the enemy from giving succour to Cuddalore, the siege of which place was then in agitation at the Presidency, appeared in sight of the French fleet off Trinquamallee, on the third day after its capitulation had been signed.

\*\*\* The annexed Plan of Trinquamallee I. faithfully copied from one drawn by a French engineer for the governor of the Isle of France, comprehending the improvements that had been recently made upon the works of that place by the French.

At

At this period a plan was formed by Lord Macartney for making Trinquamallee a permanent possession to the English Company; which, had it not been frustrated by the activity of Suffrein, would have proved the master-piece of the Madras governor. In pursuance of this plan Lieutenant-colonel Fullarton, an officer of most extended capacity and singular military talents, which seemed more the effect of natural endowment than experience, embarked with Sir Edward Hughes, for the purpose of commanding the garrison of Trinquamallee, and also of negotiating an alliance with the king of Candia, or chief emperor on the island of Celon; who was at this period much disgusted with the Dutch tyranny, and might have been easily brought over to our interest, had the talents and address of Colonel Fullarton had an opportunity for exertion. The accomplishment of this important scheme would have rendered the support of the war a matter of singular advantage; for, had the Company studied their interest properly, they should have aimed at this as their chief acquisition upon their first establishment in India.

Whenever the hostile squadrons got sight of each other the most serious consequences ensued; for no two competitors ever met that had more the interest of their sovereigns at heart, or that possessed a greater share of real valour and patriotism, than Sir Edward Hughes and the Chevalier de Suffrein. It was not their

P p

practice



practice to shun each other by crafty manœuvre, but gallantly to close at once, and put their spirits to the test. At this rencontre the squadrons consisted of twelve British and fourteen French ships of the line; which both speedily drew up in battle array, and commenced in their usual manner a bloody and destructive fight, that continued, without any visible advantage on either side, until the approach of night put an end to the contest. In this action the British ships displayed extraordinary instances of valour, particularly the Worcester, Monmouth, Exeter, and Isis; but Sir Edward, who always drew up the Superb in close opposition to Suffrein in the French Hero, battered that vessel so much as to dismast her, which obliged the French admiral quickly to shift his flag to a frigate in the rear; and the Hero must certainly have struck, had not two fresh ships come up to her relief and gallantly towed her away, although warmly opposed by the British admiral.

The French in this action had no less than eleven hundred men killed and wounded; and seven of their captains were publicly disgraced by Suffrein. Their fleet, in a very unmanageable condition, crowded sail for Trinquamallee, where that night the L'Orient sunk, and two others stuck upon the rocks, but were got off again after sustaining considerable damage. Had our squadron been in a condition to pursue, these ships must have fallen into our possession; but the British were so disabled as to be totally unfit for



a chase. Three valuable officers fell in this engagement; the Honourable Captain Lumley of the Isis, and Captains Watt and Wood, of the Sultan and Worcester, with fifteen subalterns, and about three hundred and thirty men killed and wounded. Sir Edward immediately after the action steered for Madras, where he arrived on the 20th, and made preparations for quitting the coast upon account of the approaching monsoons.

The main army, under General Coote, had no sooner pitched their camp at St. Thomas's mount, after the Arné expedition, than a fresh enterprise was chalked out for them, but which proved of the same inutility. The important intelligence now arrived of peace having been absolutely concluded with the Marrattas; the ratification of which had taken place at Poona in the middle of May. In this treaty it was stipulated that Hyder Ally with his whole force should immediately evacuate the Carnatic, in failure of which both parties were to unite for his expulsion in six months after the date of this ratification. For the purpose therefore of negotiating with the Misore general, an expedition to Vandewash was undertaken. But Hyder Ally, finding himself well supported by his French allies, spurned at our proposals; and, after a month being wasted in this fruitless negotiation, we returned to Madras exasperated with the haughty presumption of this politic barbarian.

Another excursion to the relief of Vellore succeeded, into which seven months rice was thrown upon the 5th of August; and on the 20th the army retired again to the Presidency.

Colonel Laing was now sent to take upon him the command in the southern districts, accompanied by a detachment of six hundred Europeans from the seventy-eighth and Madras regiments. These went safely to Negapatnam by sea, and afterwards joined the southern army, which now began to appear again without the walls of Tanjore.

An extraordinary measure was now adopted for recruiting the Europeans of the main army, after the above detachment had departed for the southward. Every means were used and every allurements was held out to entice the French soldiers who had been captured by Sir Edward Hughes to enter into the Company's service. Their serjeant-major was first brought over by being appointed an officer, under whose sole command they were to serve; and as a further encouragement, and the means of banishing every idea of distrust, Sir Eyre Coote appointed them his own body-guard, with exemption from every other duty, he having also dignified them by the appellation of *Rangers*. Upwards of one hundred young fellows soon enlisted upon these terms, who, from a dislike to their confinement at Madras, thought this would furnish a favourable opportunity of making their escape.

This

This little corps was also handsomely clothed in serjeant's scarlet cloth faced with black. It is not an improbable conjecture, that the shameful inattention to Monf. Suffrein's requisition for an exchange of prisoners, in a great measure, proceeded from the contemplation of this ill-judged and unprecedented measure.

Hyder meanwhile lay encamped at Cuddalore until his army had consumed all the forage and grain in that neighbourhood, after which he was forced to retire nearer to the pass of Trinomaly, for the greater facility of receiving his convoys; which at this period fell far short of his expectations, and indicated a great scarcity of grain in the Misore country. Tippu Sahib, who had during this interval been detached to the Tanjore country, in order to put a stop to the progress of cultivation there, which promised for the next season a very plentiful supply, was recalled to represent his father in the army of the allies, and watch the effect of our menaces against Cuddalore; the reduction of which, that this campaign might be finished with some degree of lustre, now occupied the whole of our thoughts. Flushed with this idea, the siege of that place was forthwith concerted, and measures were laid down for carrying it into immediate execution. Lord Macartney promised that nothing should be wanting on his part to forward this expedition; and he accordingly hired for this purpose four or five



five ships of burthen to carry rice, battering cannon, and every other implement necessary for a siege. Sir Edward Hughes also engaged, while these operations were going forward, to amuse Suffrein. Thus flattered with every aid that could be wished for from both parties, Sir Eyre Coote began his march southward upon the 26th of August, with only ten days' rice for the army, and arrived upon the red hills of Pondicherry on the 4th of September, where he was to wait for further supplies from the rice ships, according to the preconcerted plan, without which it was impossible for the army to proceed.

Here many deserters came in to us from the enemy; from whom we learnt that the garrison of Cuddalore amounted to eight hundred Europeans, three hundred *Caffries*, or Africans, and six hundred sepoys; who, having expelled the inhabitants and covered the walls with cannon, were determined to fight to the last extremity. But it was our fortune to experience a grievous disappointment, by which they gained a reprieve; for, upon the day on which General Coote had distributed his last ratio of grain to the army at Pondicherry, Lord Macartney's rice-ships, which ought to have been there on the 10th, had not then passed Sadras—a circumstance which obliged the General, with great reluctance, to drop this important enterprise.

This

This disappointment sunk so deep into the mind, and bore so hard upon the infirmities, of the venerable Sir Eyre Coote, that he was suddenly taken ill, and not only obliged to quit the army, but to retire to Bengal for the recovery of his health. The command of the British army in consequence devolved upon Major-general Stuart, who began his retreat to Madras late in the evening of the 10th; which he conducted in such a mysterious manner, that the foldiers thought themselves flying from the greatest and most imminent dangers. Even the rascally Lootywallahs, or Misorian hussars, who had just before been meditating a general desertion to us, now pressed upon our flanks and rear with such ostentation and success that great part of the baggage was taken; for which the Company never offered any compensation either to officers or men.

The French rangers, composing the body-guard of the General, had no sooner got sight of Pondicherry than they very naturally felt an ardent desire to see their old companions and countrymen again, which induced a few of them secretly to decamp. When they found that the army had no further intention of drawing nearer to Cuddalore, and that Sir Eyre Coote meant to return by sea to Fort St. George, upwards of a dozen of them deserted in a body; upon which General Stuart ordered the rest to be disarmed, and marched as prisoners with the army back to Madras.

On



On the 15th of October a most violent monsoon storm came on at Madras, which procured us a respite in winter-quarters for the remainder of this year. The gale commenced about noon, and before night increased to a most furious hurricane. Some weeks before it burst upon us a vast number of trading vessels had assembled from all parts of the coast with rice for the Madras market, upon which an embargo had been laid by the Governor; from the cause, I presume, of their demanding such an exorbitant price for their grain, that it was impossible at such a rate, in the present general scarcity of money, to supply the garrison and army with a sufficient winter store. If this was the design, it seemed a laudable measure in Lord Macartney; for, though encouragement ought to be given to those who shew an alacrity in alleviating the public necessity, yet an article may, with the selfish view of taking unwarrantable advantages, be greatly over-rated; and therefore a wide distinction is unquestionably to be made between the zealous and those actuated only by a thirst of gain. The chief proprietors of the ships at this time in the roads of Madras fell under the last description, as they had come thither merely to avail themselves, in the most unfeeling manner, of the universal distress that pervaded the settlement. Those vessels contained full six months rice for the whole army and inhabitants; but the owners persisted in keeping up their price until the vengeance of Heaven seemed to overtake their inhuman proceedings, the storm having stranded no less than seventy

seventy vessels upon the beach of Madras in one night; by which means, instead of *six months*, as was before expected, the whole settlement was now reduced to *six weeks* allowance of grain. The British squadron was at anchor in the road; but, upon finding the gale increasing, immediately put to sea. The Admiral, who on that day had been giving an entertainment on board the *Superb*, was under the necessity of carrying his company to sea with him. On the following night that ship was in imminent danger of foundering, her main and mizen masts being carried away; and she was otherwise in such distress that the Admiral was under the necessity of shifting his flag to the *Sultan*.

Our camp also experienced the dreadful effects of this violent monsoon storm; for, on the following morning, those of our tents that were left standing appeared like a fleet of ships at anchor in the middle of a lake, and it was not until the water had entirely subsided that we conceived ourselves wholly free from the danger of being entombed in a watery grave.

Immediately after the storm had abated the army broke up camp, and marched into their usual cantonments upon Choultry-plain and St. Thomè, as did Hyder Ally into Arcot and its environs. At this period Sir Richard Bickerton made his appearance in the roads of Madras with a reinforcement to the fleet of five line-of-

battle ships and ten Indiamen from England, with the following troops on boards, viz. the twenty-third regiment of light-horsemen, the hundred and first, and part of the hundred and second regiments of infantry, and the fifteenth regiment of Hanoverians; with two hundred recruits for the seventy-third and seventy-eighth regiments, and about five hundred newly-raised men for the Company's service; most of whom joined the army in cantonments; after which Sir Richard Bickerton steered immediately for Bombay, where he arrived as soon as the Squadron under Sir Edward Hughes.

However pleasing the sight of such a reinforcement to the army might have been when in camp, yet, at the present alarming juncture of general distress, no circumstance could be more unfortunate or lamentable in its consequences; for the settlement was now so destitute of provisions that famine, with all her train of horrors, seemed ready to overwhelm us; and the public distress, at this gloomy period, was not a little heightened by the unceasing contentions which agitated the government of Fort St. George.

The allowances of the army, upon the arrival of those troops, were immediately retrenched to a very small ratio of grain: and such was the necessity of the times that orders were issued for near ten thousand miserable wretches to be at once struck off from the domestic army list, who were thus doomed to perish of



famine upon the desolated plains. Scenes of a more distressing nature than it is possible for my pen to describe were now hourly presented to view whichever way the eye might happen to turn. The streets and roads were strewn with unhappy creatures lying prostrate upon the ground, swooning from weakness, the melancholy effect of want, or gasping in all the horrid agonies of a lingering dissolution. Frightful skeletons, trembling on the verge of fate, were seen supplicating for a morsel of food or a grain of rice; which, where the heart was most disposed to sympathy, it was impossible to grant. Some, in whose minds the sway of superstition was stronger than the dread of death, would even prefer the latter to imagined pollution from relief tendered by the hands of an European. This scene exhibited the consummation of every earthly misery. Wretched mothers might be seen loaded with grief and affliction, offering to enslave their darling children for as much rice as would only contribute to prolong their miseries for perhaps eight dreadful days; while others were bewailing the extinction of their whole family, whose painful exits they were fated to witness as the awful harbingers of their own lingering end! The complicated scene of horror was such as to benumb every humanized faculty of the soul. In the black town so great was the mortality that the dead bodies were too numerous to be carried off by the utmost exertion, and the putrid exhalations which arose from these numberless emaciated victims of famine, strewn

in every quarter of the settlement, became dangerous and distressing. Crows, vultures, and jackalls, allured by the scent of death, flocked in crowds to the scene, and added greatly to its horror and devastation.

The humanity shewn upon this occasion by the gentlemen of the settlement, and likewise the Armenians, cannot be sufficiently extolled. Many of these regularly fed hundreds of those miserable creatures of a day at their hospitable doors, and thereby rescued numbers of them from the gripe of death. The rice which was sold in time of peace for one penny per English pint, was now not to be had under two shillings and six pence, and three shillings, for the same quantity.

Whilst the main army remained in cantonments at Madras, Colonel Humberston Mackenzie endeavoured, by many noble exertions with his little force, to draw Hyder Ally's attention from the Carnatic. Soon after his landing he overthrew five thousand of the enemy in battle, took the fort of Trincolore, and afterwards marched to Callicut. His force being augmented to about nine hundred Europeans and two thousand Bombay sepoys, joined by one thousand irregulars, sent by our ally, the king of Travancore, besides a train of eighteen guns, he made a very bold, though hazardous,



hazardous, attempt to penetrate into the Misore country to the east, and, if possible, to take possession of *Paligatecherry*, a fort of very considerable importance, as it was the key to the only pass of general communication between the east and west coasts. To this place he proceeded with surprising conduct and expedition; but, when he had reached its vicinity, information was received of a superior force being ready to oppose him, and that Hyder had dispatched Tippu Sahib from the Carnatic, with Monsieur Lally and a formidable party, to their support.

Colonel Humberston was determined, however, to have ocular demonstration of those facts, and did not think of retiring until he saw that it was wholly impossible for his small army, without battering cannon and other necessary implements, to carry on a siege with success, although he had dispersed all the force that had ventured to meet him in the field. A retreat was therefore resolved on; but it had no sooner commenced than furious attacks were made, particularly at the defiles and rivers, by multitudes of matchlock infantry and cavalry, who hung heavily upon his rear the whole way, and stripped his little army of all its baggage and cattle. When he had reached Pannany, Colonel Humberston immediately took post and threw up entrenchments; in which, however, he had scarcely remained twenty-four hours before Tippu Sahib.

Sahib arrived with his detachment from the Carnatic, and made a general attack upon his lines upon the 28th of November.

Colonel M'Leod, having fortunately at that instant arrived with the second battalion of the forty-second regiment, of course took the command; when those brave Highlanders, supported by the rest of this gallant little army, soon gave the enemy a general and complete defeat; in which Tippo was wounded in the thigh, and all his troops dispersed.

The health of Hyder Ally had been for some time upon the decline, and his increasing indisposition induced Tippo to deem his presence absolutely necessary in the Carnatic at a period so critical and big with his future fate. He was therefore hastening back to the main army, but before he could reach Vellore the death of his father was announced to him by a herald; and, without a single opponent, or the least symptom of the commotion usual upon such an occasion, he was upon the 7th of December, 1782, proclaimed Nabob of Misore, and Generalissimo of their armies.

During Hyder's illness he made some overtures of peace to us, with seeming sincerity, as he then seriously anticipated his own dissolution; in consequence of which he was apprehensive of some

some fatal commotions: but Tippo no sooner found himself at the head of the Misore army than he dropped the negociation, and gave every assurance to the French of his fidelity and attachment to them, and of his fixed determination to prosecute a vigorous war against the English.

CAMPAIGN

## C A M P A I G N OF 1783.

## LETTER XVI.

Madras, December 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

At the opening of the campaign of this year matters were not a more favourable aspect to us than they did at the close of the last. Tippo Sahib, a more inveterate enemy to the British, if possible, than his father, continued to prosecute the war against us with the utmost vigour, in league with his firm ally the French. Monsieur Suffrein no sooner knew that we were fairly settled in winter quarters, and that Sir Edward Hughes had departed for Bombay, than he seized the opportunity of sailing to Achine Road, where it was agreed that the Marquis de Buffy should meet him, with a large reinforcement of ships and land forces from the Isle of France, in order to make a descent upon our northern coasts. The latter, however, failing in his assignation, Suffrein, after waiting for him until



until the 22d of December, departed from thence; and on the 15th of January, appearing off Ganjam, threw not only our whole northern settlements but Madras itself into the utmost consternation. The French admiral immediately reconnoitred those sea-ports, with a firm intention of attacking them in succession; but, just then hearing of Hyder Ally's death, he was induced to drop that enterprize for the present, and steer directly for Cuddalore, sweeping the coast as he went along with impunity. At Ganjam the Coventry frigate, commanded by Captain Wolfeley, upon her way hither from Bengal, anchored during a fog in the heart of the French fleet, and, before she had time to discover her mistake, was forced to surrender to a seventy-four-gun ship that in an instant came along-side of her. Many trading ships from Bengal and other places were also at this time captured.

From Cuddalore Suffrein proceeded to Trinquamallee, where he was shortly joined by Monsieur de Buffly with three men of war and three thousand land troops; and these, being with the utmost dispatch reshipped on board all the fast-sailing coppered vessels, were thrown into the garrison of Cuddalore. Two line-of-battle ships and two frigates were also sent to cruise off Madras, whilst the Naiad frigate was so posted as to give speedy intimation when the English fleet, then daily expected, should arrive from the other coast.



The rains had no sooner abated in the Carnatic than Tippu Sahib encamped his forces upon the plains of Arnè, where he was joined by about one thousand French auxiliaries from Cuddalore. The accounts which arrived from all quarters, of the most serious preparations for a renewal of the war, seemed at last to have roused the Madras Council to a sense of their duty, and they now began to see the propriety of demolishing those useless garrisons (Carangooly and Vandewash) which had, during the former campaigns, occasioned so much anxiety and fatigue to the troops without any material advantage arising from the possession of them.

The British army was, as usual, assembled at St. Thomas's Mount, commanded by Major-general Stuart. It consisted of the following corps, viz. the seventy-third, seventy-eighth, and one hundred and first regiments, a detachment of the fifteenth regiment of Hanoverians, and the Madras corps of infantry and artillery; making all together, in the European brigade, about one thousand six hundred and sixty men, ten Carnatic battalions of sepoys, five Bengal regiments of two battalions each, and four regiments of black cavalry, with seventy pieces of ordnance.

Before we left cantonments, two battalions of sepoys and a detachment from the hundred and second regiment were sent to join a body of black troops, collected about Ellore, under command  
of

of Major-general Jones, which were afterwards distinguished by the name of the northern army.

Both of the contending armies were at this time in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements from Europe, consequently it was not the interest of either party to seek for an engagement; but, as General Stuart had the demolition, at all events, of Vandewash and Carangooly in contemplation, he thought it inconsistent with the British character and his own manly feelings to approach so near to the enemy without putting their courage to the test.

Our army reached Carangooly upon the 6th of February, and there great part of the baggage was left, that we might proceed lightly towards Vandewash; the walls of which garrison were blown up immediately upon our arrival.

The camp of the confederate army was now clearly discovered from the hills, which induced the General to issue orders for making a rapid march towards them, with a few tents and only three days provisions, thinking at any rate to incommode and intimidate the enemy if they did not hazard a battle. The residue of the baggage was left behind, under a guard, in the *Pettah*, or town of Vandewash. The British General advanced to Neddin-  
R r 2 gull,

gull, where a branch of the Palliar river only separated the two armies; and, after menacing each other for a whole day by a mutual exchange of some random shot across the stream, General Stuart gave orders for the line to lie that night upon their arms in the same order of battle in which it was then drawn up; and early next morning we retraced our steps to Vandewash, closely pursued by vast numbers of the enemy's horse and rocket-men, who killed and wounded near two hundred of our rear-guard.

From Vandewash the army retired to Carangooly, which was likewise demolished; and, upon the 23d of February, we encamped at Pondamallee, finishing this expedition with some degree of satisfaction, though it was attended by a considerable loss, as it put an end to the periodical marches formerly made to the succour of those garrisons. Lieutenant Flint, who had by this time attained the brevet rank of captain merely from his gallantry, felt himself much relieved by this measure; but his spirited behaviour was, after his return to Madras, rewarded by threats of imprisonment from black merchants and others, formerly inhabitants of Vandewash, of whom he had borrowed money, on account of government, to alleviate the distresses of his garrison, and to gratify a mutinous disposition in his troops during the siege; to which glaring abuse of a meritorious officer the Council of Madras shewed an unjustifiable passiveness.

During

During this excursion, the hundred and first regiment and fifteenth battalion of Hanoverians, both new to the climate, were no less sufferers, from the influence of the sun, than those corps already mentioned in the former campaigns, although indeed the Hanoverians seemed to stand the trial the best.

As it was yet but the beginning of the season, another trip to Vellore succeeded the former; and earnestly did we wish that this garrison might share the same fate with the other two, for it was a source of constant plague to our army. But in our advance to this place an unexpected piece of intelligence reached us, which caused a sudden change in the plan of our future operations.

Since the conclusion of peace with the Marrattas the Bombay Presidency found themselves enabled to make with their troops much more powerful exertions in our favour than had hitherto been done; and, from several concurring circumstances, they were now induced to make a diversion upon the northern parts of Tippe Sahib's dominions on the Malabar coast, with about four hundred European infantry and artillery, and twelve hundred seapoys, commanded by Brigadier-general Mathews.

Commutations of an alarming nature appeared also at this time to have been stirred up against Tippe by some discontented Misorian chiefs,



chiefs, particularly a Mahomedan named *Hayet Sahib*, who was principal governor of the rich districts in the province of Beddinore, and said to be an illegitimate son of Hyder Ally. This adventurer obstinately refused to swear allegiance to the new sovereign, urging; as a reason for his conduct, that Tippo Sahib had done him injustice in the distribution of his father's vast usurpations. The Bombay Presidency, anticipating some important acquisition to the Company from the taking an advantage of these circumstances, did not hesitate in forwarding this new expedition; and, had General Mathews's prudence been in any degree adequate to his astonishing success, he might in all probability have put an honourable and advantageous conclusion to this distressing war; but it will appear in the sequel that avarice, and an ill-grounded ambition, reduced him, from a state of unexpected prosperity, to the most disgraceful humiliation as well as a tragical end.

General Mathews accordingly made a movement with his little army, in the beginning of January 1783, towards that part of the Malabar coast, where success was most likely to attend his exertions. He first began with the reduction of Rajamundray and Onore; where a surprising discovery was made of four line-of-battle ships, with many smaller vessels, some of them upon the stocks, and others completely launched, all of which were instantly destroyed: and at both places great numbers of the enemy were also



also killed or dispersed. He next effected a landing at Cundapore, and took it; in which was found another sixty-four-gun ship upon the stocks, that shared the same fate with the former. Here his force was augmented to twelve hundred Europeans, and near five thousand sepoys, with a proportionable train of artillery, by the junction of Colonel Macleod's army from Panany. The General proceeded to the Ghaut, or pass leading to Beddinore, through a long ridge of mountains that separates part of that province from the sea. As he advanced his dangers increased; for he had now to encounter with a steep ascent of seven miles, judiciously secured by strong barriers and batteries, some of which mounted sixty guns, and were defended by upwards of fifteen thousand resolute troops; but, through the animating gallantry of Colonel Macleod with the forty-second regiment, consisting of Highlanders, Colonel Humberston Mackenzie with the hundred and first, as well as the spirited exertions of every individual of the army, these were all defeated, but not without their having made an obstinate defence; and the General had now the satisfaction of finding himself, after surmounting incredible difficulties, encamped before the garrison of Hyder-nagur, the metropolis of the province of Beddinore.

After having overcome a few ceremonious scruples of conscience, and adjusted the most favourable terms he could possibly expect,

expect, Hayet Sahib opened the gates of that great and important garrison to the conqueror, without firing a single shot, although it mounted upwards of seventy guns, and contained an immense store of riches. Here, and in other forts, were released three battalions of sepoy's that had been made prisoners in the course of the war.

A knowledge of this rapid and important conquest could not fail in a great degree to excite the apprehensions of Tippo Sahib, especially when he learnt that the *bastard* of Beddinore, whose revenge he infinitely dreaded, had now revolted, and taken an active part against him. The Misorian nabob immediately began to concert the most powerful and speedy measures for crushing those tumults in the bud, and also for checking the unexpected progress of General Mathews's army.

Neither the entreaties of the French, nor any other consideration, could keep Tippo Sahib one day longer in the Carnatic. He at once retired with his whole force, in the utmost precipitation, through those passes by which the Misorians had first entered, determined to lose no time in recovering the subjugated part of his dominions, and to put a speedy end to intestine commotions, by inflicting the severest punishments upon those who had resisted his authority. Previous to his departure, all the garrisons which he possessed in the Carnatic were blown up excepting Arnè. This place

place was left in charge of Sid Sahib, who had orders to attend the French at Cuddalore with two thousand horse; in return for which, they permitted a corps of six hundred Europeans, under Monf. Coffigny, to accompany Tippo Sahib's army upon this expedition.

Meanwhile Brigadier Mathews continued to extend his conquests in the districts dependant upon Beddinore, having reduced the important garrisons of Mangalore, Anantpore, &c.; at the first of which Major Campbell with the forty-second regiment was left to command: and thus, in place of destroying those forts immediately upon their surrendering, he imprudently dispersed a great part of his army in a pitiful detail for the defence of them, without ever anticipating the least bad consequence from such a hazardous measure. Nay, such was the intoxication of this man's mind, and so unbounded were its rapacious desires, that he seemed never once to harbour a suspicion of the terrible storm now impending, until he beheld with amazement Tippo Sahib's whole force surrounding the walls of Hyder-nagur, where he himself was quartered with the principal division of his army, which did not then exceed four hundred Europeans and twelve hundred sepoy.

Before this unexpected change of fortune, General Mathews had so disgusted his officers and men, by his sordid and unfair distribution of the plunder and money taken at Hyder-nagur and

S s

other

other places, not only to the troops under his own command, but also to Hayet Sahib, that Colonels Macleod and Humberston, with Major Shaw, were deputed by the rest of the army to lay their grievances in person before the Governor and Council of Bombay; who were so satisfied with the truth of what was alleged against the General, that he was immediately superseded, and Colonel Macleod, advanced to the rank of Brigadier-general, appointed to succeed him in the command of the army. But, as these three officers were returning to Hyder-nagur, on board the Ranger armed ship of twelve guns, commanded by Lieutenant Pruin, they were overtaken in a calm, and furiously attacked, without any previous summons to surrender, by a fleet of Marratta pirates, far superior in force to themselves; and after a most desperate fight, in which almost every soul on board the Ranger was either killed or wounded, they were at last overpowered by numbers, and immediately carried into Geriah; where that brave and promising officer, Colonel Humberston Mackenzie, died of the wounds which he had received. Major Shaw, a gallant and steady veteran, was killed in the first onset; and Brigadier-general Macleod, who valiantly conducted the engagement, as well as all the other gentlemen on board, was desperately wounded.

The French troops, with Tippo's engineers, immediately began their approaches towards the garrison of Beddinore, where they



they met with every opposition that could be suggested by men of experience and valour; but, after a council of war had been held by the General and his officers, it was agreed that they should capitulate upon honourable terms.

Never was any capitulation framed with apparently greater confidence in the honour of a civilized enemy than these officers seemed now to repose in the precarious faith of a fickle and capricious barbarian. They insisted upon ‘ marching out with all the ‘ honours of war—piling their arms upon the glacis—liberty to ‘ march unmolested with private baggage, until they should be ‘ embarked for Bombay—public stores not to be touched—a body-guard for the General, and hostages to be exchanged, &c. &c.’—To all which proposals the Sultan gave a ready assent; but with an inward determination to observe them afterwards only as he should think fit. The garrison accordingly surrendered upon the 2d of May; but, in place of the terms of capitulation being duly fulfilled, the whole were treated with unparalleled cruelty, and sent prisoners to the most remote corners of the Misore country.

After the fall of Hyder-nagur, every other place gave way in succession to the force and rapidity of Tippo’s arms, until he arrived before Mangalore, which at length put a stop to his career.



Here we shall now leave him, and take a view of the progress of the southern and northern armies, each of which endeavoured to enter the kingdom of Mysore from their respective stations, that they might co-operate with Brigadier Mathews.

Colonel Fullarton, paying implicit obedience to his instructions, advanced with the southern army upon the borders of Mysore, and took Dundigull, a strong hill-fort, commanding the great pass which leads from that kingdom into the southern districts of Trichinopoly and Madura; as well as the forts of *Caroor* and *Daraporam*, the guardians of another frequented pass leading to Trichinopoly by the Cavari river, and important keys to the route that should be taken to Poligatcherry or Seringapatnam. After these services had been performed he received orders to fall quickly back, that he might act in concert with the main army in a matter that was deemed of much greater importance.

The northern army, under Major-general Jones, also attempted at the same time to penetrate into that part of Tippo's dominions called Cuddapah, through the pass of Cambam; but there they met with such violent opposition that they were forced to fall precipitately back and take post; having had the second battalion of sepoys, under Captain Montgomery, totally cut to pieces, and the whole army fairly surrounded for a considerable time.

The

The vigilance to be kept over M. de Buffſy's motions at Cuddalore, with the want of a neceſſary portion of proviſions, were ſufficient cauſes for General Stuart's not following Tippo Sahib with the main army; and of courſe our views were now turned ſolely towards the French. The General, after having ſupplied Vellore with every thing neceſſary, accordingly took the road to Arcot, and poſſeſſed himſelf of its ruins in great form. The army ſoon after reached Madras, where we found Sir Edward Hughes juſt returned from Bombay, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips of the line; and on the following day Providence conducted into the roads of Fort St. George, ſafe from the deſigns of the French, who had diligently been cruizing for them off the coaſt, a fleet from Europe, under convoy of the Briſtol man of war of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Burney, conſiſting of ten Indiamen, having on board ſtores for the ſquadron, five hundred of the Company's recruits, and the ſixteenth regiment of Hanoverians.

At this period the generality of people in the ſettlement flattered themſelves with sanguine hopes of ſeeing the war ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as Mr. Paul Benfield, a gentleman whoſe means of intelligence were known to be both extenſive and expeditious, publicly declared, from motives the moſt benevolent, that he had juſt received over land from England certain information that Great Britain had finally concluded a peace with all the belligerent

gerent powers in Europe; and that a frigate was now upon her way with these glad tidings to our settlements in the East. Yet such were the sanguinary ideas which swayed the minds of our rulers, that intelligence of this importance was by no means sufficient to postpone for a few months another attack upon Cuddalore; it having been decreed by our leading *oracle*, as circumstances then appeared so propitious, that *one more sacrifice* of our worthy countrymen was an act of indispensable policy.

For this *laudable* purpose vast preparations were made. Our fleet was to make every exertion. Colonel Fullarton, being also apprised of the general plan of operations, was ordered to withdraw his army from the frontiers of Misore, in order to co-operate with us at Cuddalore, as soon as he had accomplished whatever enterprise he might be then engaged in, and to march thither whenever he should learn that the main army had reached the place of their destination.

Before this memorable project was, however, finally agreed upon, it occasioned much disputation in the Council of Madras. Some would have the troops to march to the north, some to the west, and others to the south; but none expressed the generous wish of delaying the execution of their designs in the hope of a speedy confirmation of the rumours of a peace; which, considering  
the

the quantity of blood that had been already uselessly spilt, would surely have been an act of justifiable humanity. How many brave and experienced officers might have been saved to their country and their friends by this prudent measure, that are now the subjects of lamentation to their unhappy widows, orphans, and parents!—but what will not ambition do! This recalls to my remembrance the sincere regret at this crisis, excited in every heart of our devoted army at the absence of our late benevolent and respectable commander, Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, who always proved himself to be the soldier's best friend in never wantonly lavishing his blood.

The attack of Cuddalore was, however, ultimately determined upon; and in consequence Sir Edward Hughes failed to Trincomalee; and the army, commanded by Major-general Stuart, proceeded southward upon the 21st of April, by separate brigades. Lieutenant-colonel Elphinstone, who had been much distinguished during the war, for his steady conduct and important services in the field, took the lead with the fifth brigade; and, after having made a sweep of the country in quest of provisions, he possessed himself of Permacoil ruins, one of the intended magazines and posts of communication; from whence he saw the enemy's advanced parties upon the Red hills of Pondicherry. Here the rest of the army joined him upon the 2d of May.



While encamped upon the banks of the Palliar, we received the melancholy tidings of Sir Eyre Coote's death, which cast a visible damp upon the spirits of every individual in the British army, but particularly of those who had had the honour of serving under his command. In him the soldier lost a warm friend, and the King and Company a most zealous and able officer. He was upon his way from Bengal to join the army at Madras, in a vessel which a large French cruiser had chased for the greatest part of the voyage. This circumstance, it is said, operated so strongly upon the anxious mind of Sir Eyre Coote, as to bring on a stroke of the palsy, of which he died upon the 26th of April. Major-general Stuart now succeeded to the rank of *Commander in Chief over all the British forces in India for the time being.*

From Permacoil the army advanced to Killinore, and received a supply of rice from Congemeer; after which it proceeded to the Red hills of Pondicherry, where an advanced party of French topases \* and sepoy were surpris'd, of whom seven were made prisoners. An immense space of time had been wasted in the neighbourhood of Permacoil and Pondicherry, waiting for the sailing of the Squadron, and the arrival of our store-ships, and reinforcements under Major-general Bruce and Colonel Wangenheim, convoyed by the Isis.

\* Topases are the sons of Europeans and black women, or low Portuguese, who are trained to arms.

It

It was the beginning of June before General Stuart found himself enabled to proceed; but at length, upon the 4th of that month, the British camp was pitched close to the banks of the Pannar river, about five miles to the west of Cuddalore bound-hedge; behind which the French army was now descried in an entrenched camp, having their picket stationed upon the plain without, and Sid Sahib's party of horse flying about the country, who immediately annoyed us in a very great degree.

The British General seemed as yet to have been undetermined upon which side of the garrison his approaches should be made; but, perceiving that the French were under the greatest apprehensions about the north and west faces, upon which they seemed to have bestowed the most of their labour, General Stuart made a very judicious diversion, and passed the Pannar river next morning in view of the whole French line, who never once ventured to oppose our passage, or gave us the least annoyance, until our army had passed the Bandapollam hills, upon the 6th of June, and taken up a strong camp not quite two miles from the south face of Cuddalore garrison; but we unfortunately neglected taking possession of the bound-hedge in the intermediate space betwixt our front and the fort, which was then quite unoccupied by the enemy, and would have much facilitated our approaches. The British camp was situated in a sandy desert, with its right flank covered by the

T t

sea,

sea, and the left posted against the Bandapollam hills, having its front almost screened from the fort by plantations of Palmira trees and the brushwood of the bound-hedge. For a considerable way in our rear was a bad stock of forage, over which Sid Sahib's horse kept a very watchful eye.

During the night of the 7th Monsieur de Buffry quitted the north side of Cuddalore, and fixed himself in the southern hedge, which we had negligently overlooked the day before; where he immediately began, with the utmost assiduity, to throw up strong redoubts and lines of entrenchment; at the same time advancing his guards and pickets close up to our sentinels.

During these operations three or four vessels, laden with stores, slipped out of Trinquamallee, notwithstanding the vigilance of our fleet, and gave succour to the French, although Captain Halliday, of the Isis, who had also arrived with his convoy upon the 6th, kept up a very hot fire upon them even when under the guns of the besieged. The English squadron upon this immediately quitted their station at Trinquamallee, and repaired to our assistance at Cuddalore.

Six days had already elapsed, both armies watchful of each other; the French industriously fortifying themselves and extending their



their works, and the British busily employed in the debarkation of a detachment of the sixteenth regiment of Hanoverians that had come by sea under Major-general Bruce, and also in landing the stores and ammunition which had arrived in the same vessel. This last business was conducted by Captain Moorhouse, commissary of stores, who shewed indefatigable attention and alacrity in the discharge of his duty.

Meanwhile our field officers were kept constantly reconnoitring the enemy's lines; and Lieutenant-colonel Kelly passed secretly over the Bandapollam hills through almost impenetrable thickets, where he fully saw the whole disposition on the enemy's right, and the construction of a new battery which they had lately erected upon a commanding hill to cover that flank. As the Major retired, care was taken to mark with straw all the bushes through which he had taken his route. A general report was now carried to headquarters, by the principal field-officers, purporting that the enemy had made such progress in their works that no time was to be lost in forcing them either to a general engagement, or to take refuge in the garrison; which, from our former unaccountable oversight, now became an affair of the most serious nature; as the French force appeared, upon a nearer inspection, to be far superior to us in Europeans, and little inferior in sepoy, with the advantage of



formidable entrenchments, judiciously flanked by batteries full of heavy cannon.

A corps of three hundred grenadiers was immediately formed under Lieutenant-colonel Cathcart; and every thing being arranged our commander laid his plan of attack before General Bruce and the other field-officers, with the proposal that it should be carried into effect upon the following morning at day-break. A better design could not have been concerted; and, as it met with the approbation of all present, the General issued immediate orders for the following disposition to be made: ‘ Major-general Bruce and  
 ‘ Colonel Edmonston to command the picket upon the right, reinforced by the seventy-eighth regiment and a battalion of sepoy  
 ‘ from the second brigade; Colonels Stuart, Cathcart, and Blane,  
 ‘ to lead the picket upon the left, joined by the grenadiers, the  
 ‘ seventy-third regiment, and two battalions of sepoy from the  
 ‘ third brigade; and the centre picket, or grand guard, consisting  
 ‘ of one regiment of cavalry and a battalion of sepoy, to be conducted by Colonels Elphinston and Wangenheim, with Majors  
 ‘ Verrennius and Cotgrove, joined by the hundred and first regiment, the regiment of Hanoverians, with two battalions of sepoy  
 ‘ from the second and third brigades; the Madras regiment of  
 ‘ Europeans, the fourth brigade, and a party of pioneers, without  
 ‘ their

‘ their artillery, to be under the orders of Colonel Kelly; Colonel  
 ‘ Gordon to command all the troops off duty, composing the  
 ‘ reserves, who were to form in front of our camp at revellie-  
 ‘ beating in the morning of the 13th; the rest of the cavalry,  
 ‘ under Colonel Campbell, to be ready at a call, and wait the  
 ‘ General’s orders; the artillery attached to the right wing, and  
 ‘ the six-gun battery on the right, to be directed by Captain  
 ‘ Montague; Lieutenant-colonel Elliot to command in the large  
 ‘ battery of six eighteen-pounders’ (which had been, during that  
 night, secretly constructed upon a commanding shoulder of the  
 hill upon our left, within eight hundred yards of the French  
 redoubt); ‘ another, of four twelve-pounders, placed in a like  
 ‘ situation further to the left, to be commanded by Major Mackay;  
 ‘ and, lastly, all the light field-pieces, that were formerly attached  
 ‘ to each corps, to be under their respective officers.’ The General  
 himself thought proper to take post in Colonel Elliot’s battery,  
 from which he could overlook the whole scene of action; but,  
 unfortunately, the signals intended to be made from thence for the  
 movements of the troops were to consist in the discharge of a  
 certain number of guns, which, in the midst of a cannonade,  
 it is almost impossible to discriminate. The attack began at four  
 o’clock in the morning of the 13th of June. Lieutenant-colonel  
 Kelly, who had been ordered with his command to pursue the  
 circuit which he had made on the preceding evening over the  
 Bandapollam

Bandapollam hills, gave the first alarm by a brisk attack upon the exalted battery, covering Tippo's sepoys in the enemy's right wing; upon which the British flag was instantly placed as a signal of success. This was no sooner perceived by Colonel Elliot and Major Mackay, than a furious opening was made from their high batteries upon a large redoubt in the centre of the French camp.

Colonel Kelly, having now turned their own guns upon them, from the height of which he had taken possession, completely enfiladed the whole French line, and threw them into such confusion that Tippo's sepoys soon dispersed and left an opening for the grenadiers and Macleod's Highlanders to fall upon the right flank of their European line, which was now quite exposed; whilst the centre division, under Colonel Elphinston, attacked the large redoubt in front; and the right wing, under General Bruce, made a correspondent movement from their station.

Our left wing had moved round a part of the Bandapollam hills under a very severe point-blank cannonade, and lay behind a small hedge upon the ground from whence Tippo's sepoys had fled, until the hundred and first and Hanoverians had advanced to the attack of the redoubt in front, which kept up such a furious discharge of round-shot, grape, and musquetry, that these two corps, unable to stand against it, were forced to give way, even after some of the

Hanoverians, under Major Verrennius, and a part of the light infantry of the hundred and first, under Captain Cole, had gallantly mounted the breast-work. Here the former was killed in the act of haranguing his men, and the latter was wounded in the breast with a bayonet. The enemy, flushed with this temporary success, rushed from their works in pursuit of the fugitives, when the grenadiers and seventy-third regiment, who were by this time rapidly advancing to the support of the assailing battalions, availed themselves of that imprudent step by entering the redoubt from which the French had sallied, and commencing a sharp fire in rear of the regiment D'Austrasie and others; who, now sensible of their error, moved confusedly off to the next battery on their left.

Thus the whole brunt and fury of this obstinate battle was sustained by Colonel Cathcart's grenadiers and Macleod's Highlanders, under Colonel Stuart, supported by Colonel Blane with the rest of the left wing and part of Kelly's brigade; who, with undaunted courage, advanced towards the enemy's left flank (which extended close to the walls of Cuddalore, where now their main force had rallied), carrying every thing before them as they proceeded, though with dreadful loss; as flanking batteries had been placed by the enemy at every convenient spot behind which they might retire, and that incessantly poured out small grape-shot and langridge, accompanied by musquetry and grenades. Four  
more



more of these batteries and their guns were, however, carried by this valiant band before they halted; but, finding themselves at last under the range of the guns of Cuddalore, orders were given to desist from the pursuit, and to fall back to the large French redoubt; which, being situated upon a gentle eminence, commanded all the rest. This bloody contest continued, without intermission, until five o'clock in the evening, when a cessation of the firing took place for that night; and both lines, quite overcome with fatigue, lay upon their arms to watch the motions of each other, and to be ready for a renewal of the battle with the dawn of day.

It was the General's design next morning at three o'clock to have stormed the rest of the French works under the guns of Cuddalore; but the enemy, taking the alarm in the night, suddenly abandoned their guns and batteries, and retired into the garrison; when our troops immediately began to construct a parallel to the south face of the fort.

The loss sustained in this battle was upon both sides very considerable. Subjoined is a statement of the strength of both armies at the beginning of the action, with the numbers of their killed, wounded, and prisoners.

*Strength*

*Strength of the BRITISH and FRENCH Armies.*

BRITISH.			FRENCH.		
Europeans	-	1,660	Europeans	-	3,000
Sepoys	-	8,340	French sepoy	-	3,000
Nabob's cavalry	-	1000	Tippo's ditto	-	3,000
			horse	-	2,000
Effectives	-	11,000	Effectives	-	11,000
Seventy pieces of ordnance.			Cannon in proportion.		

*RETURN of the Killed, Wounded, and Prisoners.*

BRITISH.				FRENCH.			
	Kill.	Wound.	Prif.		Kill.	Wound.	Prif.
King's officers	10	30		Officers	14	25	6
Ditto rank and file	138	347	17	Rank and file	116	289	35
Company's European officers	4	10					
Native black ditto	6	14					
Company's Europ. rank & file	13	40	1				
Sepoys	52	277	1				
Lascars, or black artillery	18	42					
	—	—	—	Tippo's troops and			
	241	760	19	Caffries, or Africans }	130	314	41
					361		

In all 1020 killed, wounded, and prisoners.

In all 846 killed, wounded, and prisoners.

N. B. Seventeen of the enemy's guns were taken, and six French officers made prisoners.

Both the above Statement and this account are agreeable to their own confession, and they never exaggerate.

The General, in his orders of the following day, was justly lavish of his encomiums and thanks to the different corps and commanders for their steady conduct throughout the action ; particularly to Major-general Bruce, Colonels Stuart, Cathcart, and Kelly,

U u

officers

officers of the highest merit; as well as to Colonels Elphinston, Wangenheim, Pierce, Edmonston, and Blane; and also to Captain Lamont, and the officers under his command, who gallantly led the *precious remains* of the seventy-third regiment (as the General was pleased to term them in public orders) through the most perilous road to glory, until exactly half the officers and men of the regiment were either killed or wounded.

Upon this occasion, the steady and soldierly behaviour of the sepoys, both of Bengal and Madras, reflected the highest credit and honour upon the Company's officers; as did likewise the cool and active conduct of their artillery. Colonel Elliot, Majors Mackay and Rigald; Captains Montague, Moorhouse, and Slipper; were officers of that corps highly meritorious. I shall go no further, lest I should be induced to particularise a list of the whole army.

Amongst the gallant officers that fell in this memorable battle, were Major Varrennius of the Hanoverians; the Honourable Captain James Lindsay and Captain Alexander Mackenzie of the seventy-third regiment; Captain George Mackenzie of the seventy-eighth; Captain Walter Douglas, deputy-adjutant-general, and Captain Peter Campbell, aid-du-camp to the Commander in chief. Amongst those wounded were Colonel Pierce, Captain J. Hamilton, seventy-third; Captain Cole, hundred and first, &c. &c.

Captain

Captain Lindfay, who had been wounded in the knee at the most advanced post, was made prisoner when the grenadiers retired to the great redoubt, and soon afterwards expired. He was an officer whose fall will ever be lamented by all who had a knowledge of his amiable qualities. It is hard to determine whether in his death society or the service sustained the greatest loss; so engaging were his manners, so benevolent was his heart, and so conspicuously promising were his military talents! Not even the panegyrics of our General were sufficient to alleviate the irretrievable losses of the seventy-third regiment upon that bloody day.

The individuals of each regiment were buried on the spot where they fell, a sleeve of the coat of each, with the button upon it, being left above ground by way of distinction. We soon afterwards, however, felt the greatest inconvenience from this measure, when doing duty in the trenches; for during the night the jackals, allured by the scent of human blood, used to come down from the woods in numerous herds, and, opening the graves, devour their contents; as these happened to be close to our lines, the putrid smell became no less offensive than the myriads of flies that sat upon them in the day-time were distressingly tormenting, and disgusting at meal-times.

Monsieur Suffrein, with an inferior force of fifteen sail, appeared on the 14th in the offing, and seemed at first to indicate a desire to



fuccour Cuddalore without fighting; upon which Sir Edward Hughes, who was then at Porto Nova, where a detachment from our army had been posted to collect provisions, dropped down to Cuddalore, in order to prevent the execution of his design; but, there being hardly any wind, it was the evening of the 15th before the enemy came close up to our squadron; and just at sunset, as both lines drew near to each other, a violent squall burst from the land, which drove the English fleet, with all our store-ships, in an extraordinary manner out to sea, while Suffrein nobly weathered the gale, and anchored next morning in the very ground which our fleet had quitted in Cuddalore roads.

The land-wind, which blew freshly during the day, was lulled by the sea-breeze in the morning, by which means Sir Edward always hove in fight at that time, but was regularly met and driven back at noon by the land-wind from the opposite quarter. Whilst the British admiral was thus striving to regain his former station, Suffrein took a reinforcement of men on board from the garrison, and regularly weighed anchor in the morning, keeping under an easy sail along the shore during the day, and anchoring in Cuddalore roads at night. On the 17th of June Sir Edward made great exertions to close with the enemy, when Suffrein, perceiving both fleets to be parallel to each other, determined to avail himself of the strong wind which then blew off the land in his favour, and bore gallantly down before it upon the

British

British fleet, which had hardly got into battle array before a sharp action was commenced, about four o'clock in the afternoon, in sight of both armies, and not above a league distant from the shore.

As Sir Edward had hitherto been so successful with an inferior fleet, it was natural for us to entertain sanguine hopes of a victory from eighteen sail against fifteen ; but, although we had the advantage in ships, the enemy were far superior to us in men, for the British fleet was almost half manned by Indians, and an unfortunate sickness also prevailed amongst the seamen ; which, with the want of water, obliged Sir Edward, after bravely maintaining the fight under every disadvantage till night came on, to steer for Madras. This occasioned a great disappointment to General Stuart and the army, who were thereby left entirely to work out their own deliverance.

This being the last naval engagement betwixt the British and French squadrons in India, I beg to be indulged in taking a cursory view of the conduct and resources of the two contending admirals in the course of the war, that you may be prepared to pass an impartial opinion upon this subject.

The disadvantages under which Sir Edward Hughes laboured in the prosecution of the war, may be easily seen by any person who will take the trouble of investigating them. He gallantly fought.

fought, without an ally, or scarcely any other resource but what his own ingenuity furnished, against the most expert admiral of France, who was liberally supported by the Dutch and Hyder Ally; and engaged in a cause so desperate, that he had nothing to lose but his ships and men, and with the latter he was regularly and plentifully reinforced from the Isle of France. On the other hand, Sir Edward Hughes had a most extensive territory to protect in every quarter of India, with a great inferiority of ships, and a still greater of seamen, his fleet never having been furnished with a single seaman from Britain, excepting those pressed from the outward-bound East-Indiamen, the number of which was so very inadequate for the supply of his losses by sickness and battle, that, during a great part of the war, but particularly in the last engagement, Sir Edward was obliged to substitute wretched *lascars* for *British* sailors, who formed at least a fourth part of his complement. Though labouring under such evident disadvantages, he not only maintained his ground but boldly fought his foes, and gave them such repeated discomfitures that nothing important could be effected by their land forces. No less than seven sea captains were sent in extreme disgrace to France by the gallant Suffrein, (some of whom, it is said, are still in the Bastile) on account of their misconduct\*.

\* After an enumeration of such important services, it will perhaps be matter of astonishment to many to learn, that the East-India Company have never had the justice or gratitude to thank Sir Edward Hughes for having so gallantly protected their settlements, which were undoubtedly in a very material degree saved from annihilation by his valour, his vigilance, and truly patriotic example.

In this deplorable condition above-described, without the necessary means for conducting the siege, and almost destitute of every necessary of life, we had the additional mortification to behold the whole of Monsieur Suffrein's squadron come to anchor in Cuddalore roads; from which, on the following morning, a strong detachment was debarked to act as a *sortee* at this period concerted.

Meanwhile no industry was spared on our part in forming the first parallel, a battery being completed upon each flank of it, with two in the centre, before the 25th. At three o'clock on that morning, whilst Colonels Gordon and Cathcart commanded in the trenches, the enemy, as had been expected, made a sally of three different attacks, with fifteen hundred Europeans and as many sepoy; but they were bravely repulsed by the European and black troops in our trenches; who, though prodigiously harassed by fatigue, shewed them a resolute and steady countenance, particularly the twenty-fourth regiment of Bengal sepoy, commanded by Captain Williamson, who were at the time hard at work in the trenches; but, upon the first alarm, they quickly exchanged the shovel for the musquet, and bravely received a French regiment upon their bayonets, with whom they maintained a manly struggle in the defence of one of their banners, which, during the contest, was taken off. Four French officers, with fifty privates, were killed

in



in the trenches ; and the Colonel Commandant of the sally, with other four officers and eighty of the enemy's privates, were made prisoners. We had on our part four officers, with seventy privates, killed and wounded, and one officer made prisoner. Of the former was Major Cotgrove, of the Company's service, a brave and steady officer ; and Captain Williamson, of the Bengal sepoy, was amongst the wounded.

Our army now seemed truly devoted ; for this skirmish was no sooner over than we received information that another attack, of a far more formidable and alarming nature, had been concerted by the enemy, and was to take place upon the 4th of July. It was to consist of every European and sepoy that could be mustered from both their fleet and army. One division was to proceed in boats up that small inlet of the sea which covered the right of our line, and to fall with all their vigour upon the right flank of our camp and baggage, whilst a still more formidable body was to use every effort to penetrate our lines of entrenchment, both afterwards intending to unite their force against our park of artillery ; which they concluded, with good reason, would fairly complete the overthrow of the British army.

Our alarms, upon this awful intelligence, may be more easily imagined than described ; but, fortunately, while we were in this manner

manner struggling hard for the superiority in the Eastern world, and apparently upon the verge of annihilation, (as Mr. Benfield had humanely apprised us) a frigate arrived, upon the 1st of July, in Cuddalore roads, that had come from England with the welcome tidings of peace with France and the other belligerent powers of Europe having been ratified; in consequence of which hostilities immediately ceased betwixt the British and French, and we now became as cordial friends as we had recently been bitter enemies.

When Messrs. Sadlier and Stanton (the first a member of the Council of Madras, and the last civil secretary to the Governor) intimated peace to the Marquis de Buffy, they at the same time brought orders from the Presidency for General Stuart to repair thither with the return of the frigate, in order, as it was reported, to account for some late misconduct with which he was charged; and which, from the cavalier manner of his being taken from his high command and conducted on board the ship, there was reason to suppose to be of a heinous nature; as some French officers observed who happened to be present at his embarkation. General Bruce chose also to return to the Presidency by the same conveyance.

The siege of Cuddalore was no sooner ended than the southern army, which had been then upon its march to our assistance, was

remanded to its former station upon the frontiers of Misore, and reinforced by all the Europeans of our army (excepting the seventy-third regiment), with five battalions of Carnatic sepoys, and a large proportion of artillery, under the command of Colonels Stuart, Elphinston, and Kelly.

The tidings of peace afforded a providential respite to the army at Cuddalore, who had suffered greatly from fatigue, and were so miserably furnished with provisions, that they had scarcely any other food to eat than the gun-bullocks than were killed by the enemy's shot, or which accidentally died for want of forage, with an occasional supply of coarse buffalo-beef little better than tough bull's flesh. Such was the scarcity of all sorts of liquors that a bottle of bad arrack sold currently for two and three pagodas, equal to twenty-four shillings sterling; which was, however, indispensably necessary to qualify the brackish water found in our camp.

When bullocks could be provided for the guns, to supply the great mortality that had prevailed during the siege, our army, now commanded by Colonel Gordon, decamped from Cuddalore upon the 2d of August, and in fourteen days after reached St. Thomas's mount, where we found the thirty-sixth and fifty-second regiments, under Major-general Campbell and Colonel Strabensie, just arrived from Europe.

The

The army under General Macleod, upon the Malabar coast, was at this time strongly reinforced by a detachment, sent by sea from the Presidency of Madras, consisting of about one thousand British and Hanoverian troops under the command of Colonel Gordon.

Colonel Fullarton had no sooner re-occupied Caroor and Daraparam than he received orders to desist, at present, from further hostilities, as a negotiation for peace was on foot with Tippo Sahib then before Mangalore with his army; but he was enjoined to make every possible preparation for a vigorous renewal of the war, should that be found necessary.

With so strong a reinforcement the southern army had now become very formidable; and it is but justice to Colonel Fullarton to observe, that no officer could have displayed more judgment and exertion in putting the military departments under him upon a respectable and serviceable footing, in which he was strenuously aided by Messrs. Sullivan, Irwin, and Hippley, the civil overseers in those districts. There the military commander and civil governors went hand in hand upon all occasions, and consequent success attended every enterprise; a circumstance which reflected equal honour upon the zeal and cordiality of both parties.



The truce remained so long undecided that Colonel Fullarton found it impossible to subsist his army without borrowing food from his neighbours, which the state of his finances did not afford the ability of repaying; but, just as he found himself reduced to a state of great perplexity, a messenger arrived from the Malabar coast with certain information that Tippo had paid no regard to the armistice, but had commenced hostilities afresh upon Mangalore; upon which Colonel Fullarton thought himself at liberty to retaliate. The southern army consequently likewise renewed hostilities with no less an object in view than the conquest of Seringapatnam; to which end they made very important and successful strides, having penetrated the enemy's country for a considerable way to the north-west, and reduced several strong forts of communication on the road to *Poligatcherry*: against which important garrison it has been already related that Colonel Humberston Mackenzie had made a daring, though fruitless, attempt. Colonel Fullarton's army, however, now reached it after much labour and fatigue; and, in the prosecution of a well-digested and judicious plan of operations, it was besieged and reduced in a very short time. In this enterprise the Honourable Captain Maitland, of the seventy-eighth regiment, who commanded a corps of selected grenadiers in the southern army, bore a conspicuous part. The 13th of November was the day upon which the batteries played upon *Poligatcherry*; and on that night Captain Maitland, being in the trenches with part of his grenadiers,

grenadiers, availed himself of a heavy shower of rain, and drove the besieged with great briskness from the covered way, pursuing them so closely that his party entered the principal gates along with the enemy; and being immediately followed by a reinforcement of our troops, the garrison, thus surprised, was forced to surrender at discretion.

But whilst Colonel Fullarton was thus gallantly retrieving our lost reputation, and prosecuting certain means for the accomplishment of an honourable and advantageous peace, he received fresh orders to desist from his pursuits, and to evacuate all those valuable possessions which had taken such labour in the attainment, excepting the fort of Dundigull. Accordingly the Colonel, though reasonably with great reluctance, fell back to Trichinopoly to wait the event of a fresh negotiation with Tippo; where he remained in a state of suspense for a considerable time.

Though it is by no means my intention in this correspondence to dive into politics, and enter into the intestine disputes incident to an ill-regulated government, yet, in justice to his Majesty's service, I cannot refrain from narrating a few circumstances which, to every British officer then in India, appeared to be an usurped stretch of authority, as well as a great indignity offered to his Majesty, and his troops serving in defence of the Carnatic; who, it may justly be

said, have contributed, in the course of the war, an extraordinary share of exertion for the salvation of the Company's territories.

Soon after the army returned to Madras Sir John Burgoyne, for the first time, came to command in camp, accompanied by his regiment of light dragoons; whose treatment, since their arrival, I cannot help dwelling a little upon, in order to shew how far the India Company have merited that paternal care and protection which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend to their settlements.

The Company, being convinced early in the war how essential a corps of European cavalry would be in the contest with Hyder Ally, obtained the order of government for this regiment of light horsemen to embark for India; and, though they were apprised of its destination at Madras long before the regiment arrived, no care was taken to provide horses for them that they might be the sooner ready to act in the field: this business having been shamefully deferred until the corps had been five months in the country, when General Coote at last sent round by land four hundred dragoon horses from Bengal; which, by these neglects, had only got into proper training as the war was at a close. Three hundred and sixty of this fighting corps landed in Madras fit for duty; and they had been flattered with the idea of receiving from those in power the most generous encouragement; but, instead of that being the case, the first quarters

quarters into which they had been ushered were suffocating bomb-proofs, from whence three or four hundred French prisoners, infected with various pestilential diseases, had been recently removed. The consequence was such as might naturally have been expected. A fatal mortality so much prevailed in the corps that no less than two or three of them were sent daily to their graves. Such was Sir John Burgoyne's mortification at this unexpected treatment, joined to other disappointments, that he displayed more zeal in maintaining the rights and dignity of his Majesty's troops upon this occasion than was, perhaps, consistent with prudence; particularly when we consider the deaf ear that was given to his well-founded complaints, and the shameful dereliction of that support which he had a right to expect from those in authority in England.

Sir John Burgoyne had exercised the supreme power in our camp but a short time, when he was torn from his command by a spirit of dissension and cabal, which now raged like a contagion throughout the whole Presidency; and, in the end, infected the camp. General Stuart's affair was again brought upon the carpet, marked with such virulence and persecution, that he was soon publicly dismissed from the Company's service; and Lord Macartney's power at the same time soared so high, that he even assumed an absolute authority over the king's troops; under the colour of which, General Stuart was, after being publicly dismissed from the Company's



Company's service, violently seized by a party of sepoys, when at his own country-house on Choultry-plain (full six miles distant from the army), and carried a close prisoner into Fort St. George. He was there denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, or even an interview with a friend, unless an orderly officer was present to overhear and report his conversation. Colonel Laing of the Company's service was at the same time advanced to the rank of *Lieutenant-general*, that he might command the army over Major-generals Stuart, Burgoyne, Campbell, and Ogle, &c. of his Majesty's service. A procedure so irregular and invidious proved naturally productive of much perplexity and dissatisfaction amongst the king's officers: some withdrawing themselves from camp, whilst others vainly attempted to maintain the dignity and authority of their station.

These events were soon followed by a relaxation of discipline; the soldiers, in general, not knowing the source of command, nor the residence of legal authority, became turbulent and impatient of control; whilst others again loudly murmured to see such unusual divisions and anarchy prevail amongst their leaders. In this state of confusion, the Governor deemed it prudent to draw up the bridges and shut the gates of Fort St. George; and, had it not been for the cordiality and good fellowship which universally subsisted betwixt the King's and Company's officers, who had shared  
the

the fatigues of war together, notwithstanding the artful steps that had been taken to sow the seeds of dissension amongst them, these broils might have terminated in a manner very fatal to the settlement.

General Burgoyne was next arrested, and accused of all the heinous crimes that could be suggested\*; whilst General Stuart was conducted by a guard of sepoy to the shore, in a manner very unbecoming the rank of a commander in chief, put on board of a country vessel, (which every person deemed dangerously leaky,) and sent a close prisoner to England.

How far Lord Macartney was justifiable in these proceedings, I leave others to determine. All I have to say is, that I never yet heard of any specific crime being publicly laid to the charge of General Stuart; and the treatment which he experienced was such as ought only to brand the conduct of the most guilty criminal.

Such was the unhappy condition of the Presidency at Fort St. George, and the ill-regulated state of the army, when Tippoo Sahib's ambassador arrived to treat about peace.

\* Upon General Dalling's arrival at Madras, as commander in chief upon the Coromandel coast, he carried out orders from the King for a board of general officers to scrutinize the conduct of General Burgoyne, by which he was most honourably acquitted of every charge that the most inveterate malice could adduce against him.

Upon this event, the main army, then encamped at the Mount, marched into winter quarters, in the environs of Madras; as did the southern forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. The northern detachment, under General Jones, after being for some time furrounded in their camp, were permitted to retire into cantonments in Ellore; and thus ended the operations of 1783.

LETTER

## LETTER XVII.

Madras, May 1784.

THIS year opened with the most flattering hopes of a speedy pacification. The troops remained in quarters after the usual period of taking the field, whilst the negociation with Tippu Sahib's vakeel was carrying on at Madras; and, after many conferences with that plenipotentiary, the Governor determined that an embassy should be sent to the Nabob himself, to supplicate a speedy peace upon the best terms that could possibly be obtained.

Before the cessation of hostilities, Tippu had been far advanced in his attack upon the garrison of Mangalore, having gained the covered-way and made a practicable breach in the wall; and while things were in that state did the Sultan and Colonel Campbell agree to an armistice. Each kept possession of his own works, and one hundred men were exchanged as hostages. The Misorian chief engaged to furnish the British garrison with provisions, upon their paying for the same, whilst they should remain in that situation; but he soon fell off so much from his agreement, and what he had

Y y 2

supplied



supplied had been so prodigiously over-rated, that towards the month of January they were reduced to the necessity of living upon frogs, and such other vermin as could be found in the ditch. The extent of their distress may be easily imagined from this circumstance—that a crow, which might be accidentally shot in flying over the garrison, was at last currently sold for five rupees, or ten shillings sterling. Such was the calamitous situation of the brave Colonel Campbell and his undaunted garrison when the English deputies were dispatched to negotiate about peace!

Messrs. Sadler and Stanton, with a guard of cavalry, under Captain Thomas Dallas, (an officer of distinguished merit,) and several hundred coolies laden with a supply of slops for our European prisoners, were dispatched upon this service: but Tippo, intoxicated by his successes, and eagerly bent upon the reduction of Mangalore by famine, let a considerable space of time elapse before he would condescend to listen to the overtures humbly offered on the part of the English. Some commotions also arose at this period in Tippo Sahib's camp, excited by Kirham Sahib and his adherents, which terminated in the death of Mahomed Ally his principal general, and many others of the conspirators. Differences in opinion, warmly contested betwixt our own plenipotentiaries, after they had almost reached the Malabar coast, added to the above causes, tended much to retard the progress of this negotiation; and,

in

in consequence of the latter occasion of delay, a third gentleman (Mr. Huddleston) was joined in the commission with the two former, to act with them as umpire in their impolitic disputes. Tippo, however, found means to accomplish his own wishes by the most deceitful infraction of the armistice. Colonel Campbell, often tantalised by the frequent appearance of a supply and reinforcement, but which never reached him, saw that now the hopes and exemplary patience of his brave foldiers were completely exhausted; and, being reduced to their very last ratio of provisions, was forced to surrender Mangalore, upon the condition of his troops being sent, with all the honours of war, to join General Macleod's division at Tili-cherry; which terms, as peace seemed now close at hand, Tippo deeming unworthy of violation, were adhered to; and thus ended a siege, in which Colonel Campbell, and the troops under his command, acquired the highest share of military glory; but unfortunately that brave officer, worn out with fatigue, did not long live to enjoy his justly-merited applause, he soon afterwards dying at Bombay.

The army under General Macleod was likewise at that time so hard pushed for an existence, as to be under the necessity (after having fruitlessly used every entreaty, and made liberal offers of money, for a supply of provisions) of desperately attacking Cannanore, in a manner a neutral garrison, though warmly attached

to the Misorian interests; which place was carried with the loss of one hundred Europeans killed and wounded, and afterwards plundered of money and provisions.

The Governor of Madras, finding so little attention paid to his deputation, and that much time was wasted to no kind of purpose, judged it expedient that the main army should again take the field, in order to enforce the terms proposed, as well as to divert the attention of the soldiers, who, during their inactivity in winter-quarters, had begun to call out loudly for the payment of their arrears, which they justly thought might be cleared off towards the conclusion of the war, wisely judging from experience that, when no further service was required of them, little attention would be paid to their claims, however just they might be.

The army was therefore assembled at St. Thomas's Mount, under the command of Lieutenant-general Laing. At this period a comet of uncommon magnitude and splendour made its appearance in our hemisphere. Comets are said to portend some important revolution in human affairs. From this, superstition might have anticipated some striking event, as it arose for several nights successively in the south-east quarter, directing its course with much brilliancy to the westward, where it faded from our view. From the Mount, the army soon afterwards advanced to Arcot.

Tippo,

Tippo, after having led the British deputies in the most contemptuous manner from place to place, at last condescended to grant them an audience at Mangalore, in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors at his court; whom, it is said, he haughtily requested to bear witness that he had reduced the English to implore for peace at his hands. Thus, after a series of events too mortifying to be repeated, or even to be reflected upon, the follow-treaty of peace was finally settled and concluded at Mangalore on the 11th of March, 1784.

Captain Dallas immediately made a circuit through the Misore prisons, and conducted two hundred European officers, and one thousand one hundred privates, with about two thousand sepoy and others, out of a most wretched state of captivity; in much better health, however, than could have been expected from the treatment which they had received. It was alleged that three Madras officers and five midshipmen, with about two hundred European privates, whom he had converted to Mahomedanism, were secreted by Tippo Sahib for his own service, as no account could ever afterwards be got of them.



TREATY of perpetual Peace and Friendship between the Honourable the ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY, and the Nabob TIPPO SULTAN BAHAUDER, on his own behalf, for the countries of Seringapatnam, Hyder-nagur, &c. and all his other possessions: settled by Anthony Sadlier, George Leonard Stanton, and John Huddleston, Esqrs. on behalf of the Honourable ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY, for all their possessions, and for the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, by virtue of powers delegated to the Right Honourable the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George for that purpose, by the Honourable the Governor-general and Council, appointed by the King and Parliament of Great-Britain to direct and contract all political affairs of the Honourable ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY in India, and by the said Nabob, agreeably to the following Articles, which are to be strictly and invariably observed, as long as the Sun and Moon shall last, by both parties; that is to say, by the ENGLISH COMPANY and the Three Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and the Nabob TIPPO SULTAN BAHAUDER.

#### ARTICLE I.

PEACE and friendship shall immediately take place between the said Company and the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and their friends and allies, particularly including therein the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travencore, who are friends and allies to the English, and the Carnatic Payen Ghaut; also Tippo Sultan's friends and allies, the Bibby of Cannanore, and the Rajahs, or Zemindars, of the Malabar coast, are included in this treaty. The English will not directly, or indirectly, assist the enemies of the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, nor make war upon his friends or allies; and the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder will not directly, or indirectly, assist the enemies, nor make war upon the friends or allies, of the English.

#### ARTICLE

## A R T I C L E II.

IMMEDIATELY after signing and sealing the Treaty by the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and the three Commissioners, the said Nabob shall send orders for the complete evacuation of the Carnatic, and the restoration of all the forts, and places in it, now possessed by his troops, (the fort of Amboor-gur, and Sat-gur excepted;) and such evacuation and restoration shall actually and effectually be made in the space of thirty days from the day of signing the treaty; and the said Nabob shall also, immediately after signing the Treaty, send orders for the release of all the persons who were taken and made prisoners in the late war, and are now alive, whether European or native; and for their being safely conducted to, and delivered at, such English forts or settlements as shall be nearest to the places where they now are; so that the said release and delivery of the prisoners shall actually and effectually be made in thirty days from the day of signing the Treaty. The Nabob will cause them to be supplied with provisions and conveyances for the journey, the expense of which shall be made good to them by the Company. The Commissioners will send an officer or officers to accompany the prisoners to the different places where they are to be delivered; in particular, Abdal Wahal Cawn, taken at Chittor, and his family, shall be immediately released, and if willing to return to the Carnatic, shall be allowed to do so. If any person or persons, belonging to the said Nabob, and taken by the Company in the late war, be now alive, and in prison in Bencoolen, or other territories of the Company, such person or persons shall be immediately released, and, if willing to return, shall be sent, without delay, to the nearest fort or settlement in the Misore country. Budrapah, late Amuldar of Poligatcherry, shall be released, and at liberty to depart.

Z z

A R T I C L E

## A R T I C L E III.

IMMEDIATELY after signing and sealing the Treaty, the English Commissioners shall give written orders for the delivery of Onore, Canawar, and Sadasheraguda, and forts or places adjoining thereto, and send a ship or ships to bring away the garrisons. The Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder will cause the troops in those places to be supplied with provisions and other necessary assistance for their voyage to Bombay (they paying for the same.) The Commissioners will likewise give at the same time written orders for the immediate delivery of the forts and districts of Caroor, Auravacourchy, and Davaraporum; and, immediately after the release and delivery of the prisoners as before mentioned, the fort and district of Dindigul shall be evacuated and restored to the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and none of the troops of the Company shall afterwards remain in the country of the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder.

## A R T I C L E IV.

As soon as all the prisoners are released and delivered, the fort and district of Cananore shall be evacuated and restored to Ali Rajah Bibby, the queen of that country, in the presence of any one person, without troops, whom the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder may appoint for that purpose; and, at the same time, that the orders are given for the evacuation and delivery of the forts of Cananore and Dindigul, the said Nabob shall give written orders for the evacuation and delivery of Amboor-gur and Sat-gur to the English, and in the mean time none of the troops of the said Nabob shall be left in any part of the Carnatic, except in the two forts above-mentioned.

## A R T I C L E

## ARTICLE V.

AFTER the conclusion of the Treaty, the Nabob Tippu Sultan Bahauder will make no claim whatever in future on the Carnatic.

## ARTICLE VI.

ALL persons whatever, who have been taken and carried away from the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, which includes Tanjore, by the late Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, who is in heaven, or the Nabob Tippu Sultan Bahauder, and willing to return, shall be immediately allowed to return with their families and children, or as soon as may be convenient to themselves; and all persons belonging to Vinkittygary Rajah, who were taken prisoners in returning from the fort of Vellore, to which place they had been sent with provisions, shall also be released and permitted immediately to return. List of the principal persons belonging to the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn Bahauder, and to the Rajah of Vinkittygary, shall be delivered to the Nabob Tippu Sultan's ministers; and the Nabob will cause the contents of this article to be publicly notified throughout his country.

## ARTICLE VII.

THIS being the happy period of general peace and reconciliation, the Nabob Tippu Sultan Bahauder, as a testimony and proof of his friendship to the English, agrees that the Rajahs or Zemindars, on this coast, who have favoured the English in the late war, shall not be molested on that account.

## ARTICLE VIII.

THE Nabob Tippu Sultan Bahauder hereby renews and confirms all the commercial privileges and immunities given to the English by the late Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, who is in heaven, and particularly stipulated and specified in the Treaty between the Company and the said Nabob, concluded the 8th of August, 1770.



## ARTICLE IX.

THE Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder shall restore the Factory and privileges possessed by the English at Callicut, until the year 1779 (or 1193 Hegyra); and shall restore Mount Dilly, and its district, belonging to the settlement of Tillicherry, and possessed by the English till taken by Surdar Cawn at the commencement of the late war.

## ARTICLE X.

THE Treaty shall be signed by the English Commissioners, and a copy of it shall afterwards be signed and sealed by the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, and returned to the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder in one month, or sooner if possible; and the same shall be acknowledged under the hands and seals of the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, and the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay, as binding upon all the governments in India, and copies of the Treaty so acknowledged shall be sent to the said Nabob in three months, or sooner if possible.

IN Testimony whereof, the said contracting parties have signed, sealed, and interchangeably delivered, two instruments of the same tenor and date; to wit, the said three Commissioners on behalf of the Honourable English East-India Company, and the Carnatic Payen Ghaut; and the said Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder on his own behalf, and the dominions of Seringapatnam, and Hydernagur, &c. Thus executed at Mangalore, otherwise called Codial Bunder, the 11th day of March, and year 1784 of the Christian æra, and 18th day of the moon Rabenlany, in the year of Hegyra 1198.

After

After the garrison of Arnè had been evacuated by Sid Sahib in consequence of the above treaty, it was determined to station, for the present, all the cavalry of our army at that place. They were accordingly ordered thither entirely by themselves, without the Council having once thought of advancing them a few months pay for the liquidation of their camp debts, and to enable them to carry their families along with them; a consideration which, respecting those people, ought never to be overlooked. The consequence of this omission was, that they had no sooner gotten possession of Arnè garrison than they shut the gates, and bid defiance to our whole army; threatening their European officers with instant death if they did not immediately procure all the arrears due to them by the Company; the whole four regiments of cavalry, and two hundred light infantry that attended their guns, proposing afterwards to join Tippu Sahib's army.

In this mutinous state they continued tampering with the government and army for upwards of a fortnight; during which time their European officers were exposed to the sun the whole day long, and treated with the utmost severity, the mutineers thinking thereby to accomplish their point; but General Laing at last received orders to march suddenly against them; upon which, having no alternative, they surrendered at discretion. Twelve of the unfortunate ringleaders (some of whom happened to be black officers) were

were selected for the purpose of being made immediate examples of, and were blown from the muzzles of cannon in the face of the whole army. The last of the dozen luckily met with a reprieve from the fuse having burnt priming no less than three different times whilst he was lashed to the muzzle of the gun; upon which the brave soldier appealed to the General if he was destined to die at that time; who, upon this, very humanely granted him a pardon. Those that had suffered died with undaunted courage, upbraiding their companions with traitorous conduct towards them, and exhorting them to assert their freedom against the oppressive authority of their rulers.

I shall now proceed to engage your attention by a short detail of the unparalleled sufferings of the English prisoners during a wretched captivity of three years and seven months.

In the prison of Seringapatnam they underwent a variety of hardships. After twelve months' confinement about thirty of the most comely youths were taken out, in different parties, and forced to undergo the operations preparatory to their being initiated into Mahomedanism, in the following cruel manner:— Being thrust into a contiguous house, they were informed that the Nabob had selected them for his own service; and that they must, without a murmur, adopt the religion of Mahomet. Upon this

they were stripped naked by fifty or sixty negroes who stood by for that purpose: a number of black barbers then entered strapping their razors, who instantly shaved off every hair from their bodies. These were followed by as many men with large leathern bags of water, with which they were washed all over, and purified from the Christian faith. They were next caused to swallow strong opiates in order to render them insensible of pain; when each of them was seized by those unmerciful negroes, and pinioned to the ground, whilst a kind of surgeon stepped forth and performed the act of circumcision upon them all. In about thirty days they got the better of this painful operation, when the whole were clothed in Moorish habits, and ordered to discipline about five hundred natives of the Carnatic, who had, in the course of the war, been driven from their country into a state of slavery, in order that they might be trained as soldiers for the Misorian service. In this branch of duty they made great progress; and, upon being told that they must soon take the field to quell a rebellion amongst some of the Nabob's vassals, they affected uncommon zeal for his service, thereby hoping to facilitate their escape when a proper opportunity should offer.

They kept up, in the mean time, a secret correspondence with their officers; and a feasible plan of insurrection, in favour of the rightful king of Misore, was concerted at Seringapatnam; but, just



as it was ripe for execution, one Richard Hegan, who had deserted from the Company's service, being let into the plot, made a discovery of the whole to the Governor on the very night before it was to take place. This fellow's treachery, however, was the means of saving his life, as two soldiers of the seventy-third regiment, suspicious of his fidelity, determined that night to put an end to his existence. He was afterwards made commandant of the five hundred slaves as a recompense for his attachment to the interests of the Nabob. Instead of a dreadful vengeance being taken, as was expected, upon the unhappy Europeans, they were only separated into small parties, some of the officers being sent up the country to Chittaldroog and other remote places, whilst the European Mahomedans and the five thousand slaves, as has been already mentioned, were ordered to take the field, joined by four thousand horse and foot. These, after quieting a rebellion of the Naiars, were afterwards reinforced to eight thousand men, and sent against General Mathews at Beddinore. Amongst those unfortunate young men were two privates (Mackintosh and Mackenzie) of the seventy-third regiment, who by this time spoke and understood the Moorish language so well as to comprehend that a retreat was meditated after they had advanced the length of Siermuggy, sixty miles from Mathews's army. This they communicated to the rest of their companions; ten of whom at once determined, at all hazards, to attempt their escape. In order the more readily

to

to shun detection, they divided themselves into pairs, and fled from the Mahomedans. Mackintosh and Mackenzie kept together; and, after scrambling for two days through woods and over hills, without tasting a morsel of any kind of food but cocoa-nuts and such fruits as could be found, they were upon the second night suddenly surprised by a noise in the dark, which prodigiously alarmed them. It proceeded from a number of voices; and, upon listening attentively for some time, they found the conversation to be carried on in the Gaelic language, which converted their fears into the most unbounded transports of joy. Upon this they eagerly advanced; and, having made themselves known, were cordially received by their countrymen, who formed a picket of the forty-second regiment in front of the British army. These were the only two out of the ten that were ever after heard of.

All the officers and privates, that remained in prison, were unremittingly loaded with heavy irons, and fed upon rice and water, produced from an allowance of about four pence per day. Their habitations were generally old stables and such uncomfortable places, in which all the most humiliating operations of nature were necessarily to be performed. Constant alarm and unceasing apprehension preyed upon their anxious minds, and completed the miseries of their horrid situation.

The gallant Colonel Baillie, with many more of his companions, after a lingering confinement, during which he suffered much from sickness, died of melancholy and chagrin in Seringapatnam prison.

The detachment in Bangalore met with nearly the same treatment; and an insurrection, which they had in agitation, was frustrated much in the same manner as that already related. Such was the miserable fate of those who had the misfortune to be taken in Colonel Baillie's and Brathwate's detachments, as well as of those who had been delivered into the power of the Nabob by Monsieur Suffrein.

The sufferings of the truly unfortunate men who were taken at Beddinore surpasses, if possible, those which have been already described. That garrison had no sooner surrendered, according to their terms of capitulation, and encamped beyond the glacis of the fort, than they were surrounded by a very strong guard, and informed that it was not the Nabob's intention that they should march to the coast for some days. This gave them serious cause to suspect that something worse was to follow, which soon proved to be too true; for, in a short time afterwards, the General, with his whole retinue, were separated from the rest, and he himself brought to the Durbar in order to account for some secret transactions that had

been carried on betwixt him and his colleague Hayet Sahib (who took care to make his escape at the beginning of this disaster); as also with a design to intimidate the General, by severe threats, into a surrender of all the garrisons which he had subdued in the low countries.

In this forlorn situation a strong reinforcement was added to their guards; when all the British officers were violently seized and brought to the public bazar, or flogging place; where they were severally stripped of all their horses, baggage, clothes, money, watches, &c. with a spirit of scrutiny hitherto unheard of; their very fundamentals being searched for pagodas. Immediately after this the rest of the Europeans and sepoys, with their wives and children, underwent the same infamous operation. Notice was likewise given to them that the Nabob, ever since his arrival before the garrison, had been forging irons for them, and that it would be in vain to entertain any hope of escaping with impunity.

After this ceremony had been performed the whole were marched back prisoners to the fort, the sick and wounded being left upon the ground, who were inhumanly tossed about and dragged out of their doolies, or sick beds, by the bleeding stumps of those limbs which had been recently amputated.



They were now joined by the garrisons of Anantpore and Cowaldroog, both of which had been included in the terms of capitulation; when an allowance of about two pence, and a pound of coarse rice, per day, was made to each person, officers and privates being served without discrimination.

The officers, finding no mitigation of their cruel treatment likely to take place, wrote a spirited letter to the Commandant of the French troops, representing to him the Nabob's unprecedented and inhuman conduct, and exhorting him to use his influence in obtaining the fulfilment of the terms of capitulation. This letter was delivered by a French officer who had been made prisoner during the siege, and had come to return his acknowledgments for the civilities which had then been shewn to him by the British officers; but, to their great mortification and disappointment, no answer was returned, nor any French officer ever afterwards permitted to visit them. Great sickness was the natural consequence of such barbarous treatment; the distresses of which were rendered irremediable by the surgeons having been deprived of all their medicines and instruments.

Thus oppressed with suffering, and sinking under sorrow and despair, all those of the detachment, who were thought in any degree capable of supporting the fatigues of a march, were dragged  
into

into the streets, and chained in pairs by the hands without distinction of rank; and, after having undergone another examination equally strict with the former, the whole began an ignominious march in these cruel circumstances, under a strong guard, to a hill-fort called Chittaldroog, situated about a hundred and thirty miles north-east of Beddinore; where they were detained, in a wretched state of captivity, until relieved by the treaty of peace.

Barbarians alone, inured to refinements in cruelty, can conceive the horrible sufferings of those unhappy captives in that memorable march. Many officers, who were sick and badly wounded, used every entreaty to be left behind, but all was in vain; for their supplications only tended to incense the savage guards, and excite fresh instances of their unrelenting cruelties. None were suffered to remain behind but those who bore the evident symptoms of approaching death.

The first day's journey furnished a melancholy proof of the sufferings which were yet in reserve for them. If any one of the Europeans attempted at any time to shelter himself under a tree from the intense violence of the sun, or presumed to halt, or even to ask for a draught of water, he was unmercifully chastised by the hardened guards, who beat him severely with their swords and sticks, while others were driven forward by the butt-ends of their fire-

fire-locks with every mark of savage abuse. They were frequently spit upon with an expression of the most humiliating contempt.

In this unhappy condition did they proceed until they arrived at the fort of Simoga, about sixty miles on their intended journey, when they flattered themselves that less rigorous measures might be pursued; but the barbarians still exulted in their miseries, and seemed to delight in every act that could inflict fresh torment and affliction upon an European. If any, from excessive sickness, required being carried, and the savages appointed to bear him along found him too heavy, they scrupled not to dispatch him by a blow upon the head. It was with difficulty that they could be prevailed upon even to separate the person who had died from the survivor that was chained to him. One evening an officer, who had been seized with the cramp in his stomach, and by his violent writhings, in consequence of the excessive pain, greatly incommoded his fellow-captive, the latter being in great danger of naving his arm broke, ventured to unrivet his fetters; and, though he had permission from one of the escort near him to do so, he was brought to a tree, with a rope about his neck, and narrowly escaped being hanged, his reprieve being purchased at the expense of a few blows and kicks from the Jemindar; who then informed the whole, once for all, that he had the Nabob's orders to hang any one who should make the smallest attempt to free himself from his irons.

Here

Here they were told that General Mathews and his suite, under the same load of oppression, had just arrived in that fort upon their way to Seringapatnam.

The following night produced a most violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; to which the whole of the unhappy prisoners were quite exposed—a circumstance that bore particularly hard upon the sick, and occasioned a very great mortality amongst them.—From thence they continued their rout, and, for the first time, were brought under cover at the fort of Hooly Onoor, about ten miles further on. As they drew nearer to the place of their destination the escort seemed to relax a little in their brutal severity; and, after a series of fatiguing marches, on the 21st of May, the prisoners at length arrived at the garrison of Chittaldroog, situated upon the summit of a lofty hill, rising in the heart of a wide-extended plain.

After they had been exposed for a whole day to the violence of the sun, at the foot of this hill, they were conducted, in two parties, up to the fort, and there confined in separate dungeons; and, having been again searched and plundered, their handcuffs were taken off, and irons put upon their legs. A hand-mill was now given to them for the purpose of grinding their rice; which, with the operation of dressing their victuals, became their principal occupation and amusement



amusement during the remainder of their captivity. It deserves to be remembered that, amidst all their penury and distresses, those unfortunate Britons forgot not to celebrate the birth-day of their sovereign. On this occasion they bought a sheep, at a very exorbitant rate considering their finances, on which they feasted, in honour of the day, with the greatest demonstrations of loyalty.

Their allowances were increased or diminished according to the good or bad success of Tippo's arms; and when any of them died he was thrown over a precipice of the rock as a prey to vultures and tigers. In this deplorable manner did they linger out the remainder of the war, depending for their daily subsistence, and even for their lives, upon the caprice of a savage enemy. When the pacification was effected the survivors were restored to liberty, and experienced that unutterable joy which a release from a long and painful captivity only can inspire. General Mathews, with all the captains of the hundredth regiment, and other officers of distinction, had been forced to swallow poison; of which they all expired, at Seringapatnam, in a manner too horrid for relation.

Enough cannot be said of the fidelity and generous conduct of the Company's black officers and sepoys during the whole series of these unparalleled sufferings. Every cruel mode that could be suggested by the enemy was adopted to force them into their service,

service, but the brave sepoys were satisfied to suffer every hardship and indignity rather than forfeit their allegiance to the Company. Numbers of the black officers were barbarously murdered for their inflexibility, while others, with the sepoys, were set to hard labour upon the most scanty portion of food; but all was ineffectual to shake their fidelity. The attachment of the sepoys was equally conspicuous in their kind attentions to some of the Europeans who happened to be confined in the same prison with them, they having frequently bought meat for them, in the bazar, with the hard-earned pittance which they daily received; observing, that, though the black people could do without it, they well knew that it was impossible for Europeans to exist without meat.—They had also the kindness, during the journey towards the Carnatic after their release, voluntarily to carry the knapsacks of those poor European soldiers, who, from weakness, were overcome with fatigue.

In making a few observations upon the general conduct of the war, I mean not to censure the character of any individual. A witness myself of most of the hostile operations in this quarter of Asia, and, in some measure, a sufferer by them, I draw conclusions from what I have seen, unbiassed by motives of interest or particular predilections.

Peace is generally considered by those who have toiled through the hardships of war as such a blessing, that the acquirement of it is generally applauded, however humiliating, or repugnant to the real interests of the state, the terms may be upon which it is obtained. To establish peace, upon a firm and lasting foundation, is an object that I should conceive requires the most profound deliberation. To begin a war is a matter of more serious import than the generality of mankind are capable of perceiving; but when once entered into upon proper grounds, in order to secure a permanent peace, it should never be ended while the least prospect of advantage remains.

It is to be hoped that the treaty of peace, which the Company have lately concluded with Tippu Sahib, is only meant to be temporary. Such, I am certain, must be the wish of every Briton actuated by sentiments of patriotism, and capable of feeling the indignities which have been uniformly heaped upon the British name. Can any Englishman read of the sufferings of his unfortunate countrymen, in the different prisons of Mysore, without dropping a tear of sympathy? — Or can he peruse the account of the repeated indignity and contempt with which his nation has been treated by the present usurper of Mysore, without being filled with indignation, and burning with sentiments of retaliation and revenge?

It

It must be allowed that the distresses in which we were involved during the war, in this quarter of India, were in a great measure occasioned by our own imprudence and misconduct. Want of unanimity amongst our rulers laid the foundation for miscarriage and defeat; and the ardour of our armies was invariably checked by the want of supplies, withheld through the anarchy and dissensions that generally prevailed in the councils of Madras. The rocks, upon which we have split, are now perceptible to every eye; and it is to be hoped that future rulers may be directed by them to shun the fatal disasters into which the affairs of this settlement have lately been plunged. To retrieve our sinking reputation in India must be the united effort of labour and of wisdom; and I should humbly conceive that no measure would be more likely to effect this desirable purpose than to crush the object of our just revenge, the present usurper of the Misore throne; and, by an observance of rigid integrity in our future engagements with the country powers, to wipe off the odium and distrust now universally attached by them to the British name.

In my humble opinion, the fairest opportunity that ever can offer of accomplishing this great end was lost by concluding a peace with the Misoreans, at a period that seemed pregnant with every advantage to our arms. It must be acknowledged, that without money war cannot properly be carried on; and it will ever be felt



as a subject of serious regret, that the Company were not better prepared for the public expenditures before they involved themselves and the nation in such a labyrinth of difficulties. Had that attention been paid by those in power here to the true interests of the Company, I am confident that the most felicitous consequences would have ensued. Tippo Sultan, the inveterate enemy of the English name, might have been effectually humbled, in place of appearing to treat our embassy with the arrogant pride of a conqueror. From the many proofs that the Company had experienced of the fidelity and obedient disposition of their troops, they might have ventured to impose another year's service upon them without incurring a great additional expense; and to this I am confident the troops would have readily assented, not only from a desire of revenge for the barbarous treatment of their brave fellow soldiers, but from the idea of novelty and advantage arising from a prosecution of the war in an enemy's country, where the lure of plunder would have animated their hopes. It can hardly be doubted, when we consider the reduced state of the Misore army at that particular period, and the discontent and dissensions that very generally prevailed in it, but that success must have attended the efforts of four formidable and well-conducted British armies, stationed nearly at the four extremities of the Misore kingdom; one of which indeed had already penetrated a considerable way into the enemy's country, and had secured several very important posts; and none of them above two hundred miles.

miles from its metropolis. Four such armies advancing boldly and at the same time to one great object, viz. Seringapatnam, with a view of placing the rightful heir upon the throne, could not possibly have failed of success. But it is unpleasing to dwell upon circumstances that are now past remedy; I shall therefore only hazard one more observation.

Prudence and policy will clearly dictate, that the deposing Tippo Sahib, in attempting which little is to be dreaded, and establishing the lawful sovereign upon the throne of Misore, are objects of the most essential consequence to the interests of the India Company in the Carnatic. By such means the Marrattas would be kept as much in awe as at present; and the Company, in the king of Misore, would most likely secure a peaceable neighbour and a powerful ally.

Tippo Sahib seems artfully to have avoided, and our plenipotentiaries appear to have as heedlessly neglected, making any mention of Mahomed Ally, the Nabob of Arcot, in the treaty of peace just ratified. It was treating the Nabob with marked disrespect, and will at all times furnish to the Misorian usurper a plausible pretext for re-commencing hostilities, and of which he will most assuredly very speedily avail himself. He may with great propriety say to the Council of Madras, “ My quarrel is with  
“ the

“ the Nabob of Arcot, whom you have not even specified as your  
 “ ally in our last treaty of peace.”

Permit me now to relate, in a summary manner, a few of the many hardships under which this army has laboured in the course of the war, and to give a sketch of the injurious treatment by which its services have been rewarded. Under the direction of a government in which discord uniformly prevailed, the prospect of success from any enterprise could never be very flattering; and yet, under circumstances the most depressing, was it not admirable to behold the spirit, discipline, and perseverance of the British army, who, though constantly labouring under a complication of the most pressing inconveniences and impending distress, sallied forth with alacrity to meet their foes in almost every quarter of this immense continent, and patiently endured all the hardships of war, in spite of the united horrors of toil, of famine, and of death? Under such circumstances, I believe there are few troops in any service that would have quietly permitted their pay, from the negligent and dilatory conduct of the civil government, to be twelve months in arrears at the conclusion of a war, unequalled perhaps in the annals of human kind for toil, hardship, barbarity, and carnage.—Little consideration, however, was paid to their merit and services, when the latter were no longer required.

His Majesty's seventy-third regiment was sent out from England with every alluring promise of being put upon the *same pay and field-allowances with any of their own troops upon the same service with them*; but these promises it is well known have never been fulfilled. That serviceable corps, with the rest of his Majesty's troops, was caused to do duty, during the greatest part of the war, in the same camp with a detachment from Bengal, who, receiving *double* their allowances, had always of course a preference in the markets, being enabled to pay ready money for such articles as they wanted; whilst the King's and Madras officers were obliged to wait at the door, supplicating for credit upon their batta bills, until those of greater opulence should think proper to retire. Petitions have been presented to the Supreme Board, signed by our field-officers and others, upon this subject; and Sir Eyre Coote, who perfectly assented to the justice of our claims, had promised to use all his influence at Bengal in obtaining us redress; but by his unfortunate death all our hopes were crushed; and unless the King, and his ministers, now think it an object worthy of their attention, which in justice to their troops, and as a future precedent, it certainly ought to be, we must sit down contented with our wrongs.



The implicit obedience which his Majesty's forces, much to their honour, have uniformly paid to the articles of war, as prescribed by parliament, viz. "First to complete their duty, and " then, if aggrieved, to complain," ought to be an additional incentive with government to espouse their cause. Without a redress of grievances, discipline must end; for how can any government, with a colour of justice, exact obedience from an army, if it does not relieve those who become sufferers in consequence of a rigid conformity to the laws which it has established for military conduct?

All our pay, excepting the king's, was for nine months out of the year issued in bills upon Bengal, which we were obliged to get discounted at the loss of thirty or forty per cent. Usurers, or monopolizers of specie, abounded at Madras, and the money so raised we were under the necessity of instantly expending upon liquors and other necessaries for the field; and these commodities were only to be purchased at the most exorbitant rates, as the Council never once took the least trouble in regulating the police of Madras, in order to prevent the oppressive impositions to which the army was always subjected. Such a step indeed might have proved prejudicial to their own private interests, and consequently not likely to be adopted.

You

You will, however, be better able to comprehend the state of our finances after perusing the following estimate of our receipts and disbursements during the war.

ESTIMATE of unavoidable Expenses incurred by a Captain of his Majesty's Infantry, when in the Field,\* for a Month of thirty Days; and also a Statement of his Pay, as it was received monthly, during the late war.

His Expenses, upon the most economical Plan, according to the established Practice of carrying on the War upon the Coromandel Coast:

	£.	s.	d.
For a dubash, 4 pagodas per month, is, sterling,	1	12	0
— a cook, 3 ditto ditto ditto	1	4	0
— a boy, 1½ ditto ditto ditto	0	12	0
— four bullocks and two drivers†, for carrying his baggage, at 8 pagodas; } and 3 coolies besides, for conveying his bed, &c. at 2 pagodas each, }	5	12	0
— wine (often necessary in case of sickness in this hot climate), 2 dozen, } at 5 pagodas each, }	4	0	0
— brandy and rum, 2 dozen, 6 ditto	4	16	0
— tea and sugar, 5 ditto	2	0	0
— biscuit, 2 ditto	0	16	0
— eatables for his table, 8 ditto	3	4	0
— candles (wax), 2 ditto	0	16	0
— washing and barber, 2 ditto	0	16	0
— maintenance of a horse, horse-keeper, and grass-cutter, at 7 pagodas,	2	16	0
— clothes, pocket expenses, &c. &c.	2	5	4

Total, indispensably necessary, 30 9 4  
Also a palanquin, with nine bearers, at 2 pagodas each, 7 4 0

Total of the usual disbursements, 37 13 4

	£.	s.	d.
The King's pay, received in specie, 7s. 6d. per day, is	11	5	0
Company's gratuity and batta, received in bills upon Bengal, both included, make	27	9	0
Deduct discount, at 30 per cent. upon a moderate average,	8	4	8
	19	4	4

Out of pocket monthly, 17 4 0

\* The Madras officers were still worse off than the king's; for what we drew in specie they received in bills upon Bengal. It is inconceivable what shifts these gentlemen were sometimes put to through this necessity: their patience was unparalleled.

† Instead of bullocks most people use twelve or fifteen coolies, at two pagodas each per month.  
N. B. All officers are daily liable to have their baggage taken without ever receiving any recompense for the loss.

The discount upon our monthly receipts from the Company is to be added to the above estimate of disbursements.

His Majesty's officers assert that they have an undoubted claim upon the East India Company for *double batta*, according to their own orders *now upon record at Madras*, from the day on which General Coote first landed in the Carnatic with the detachment of Bengal Europeans, in 1780, to the very day that the division under Colonel Pierce separated from the Madras army in 1784; which, upon a rough calculation, amounts to one thousand pounds and upwards for a captain, and so in proportion to their rank and services to all his Majesty's officers who have done duty with the main army in the Carnatic. These are sums too serious to be withheld from deserving soldiers, who have dearly earned every recompense which can be bestowed upon them.

Another instance of the *generosity* and *justice* of the Company's civil servants, in the Carnatic, was their *honourable distribution* of prize-money arising from the many seizures of cattle and grain that had been made by the army; and which, in place of being distributed amongst the soldiers, were publicly sold in the camp bazar at a good price.—Many flattering insinuations were made in the course of the war, that the troops might expect large dividends of prize-money towards its conclusion; but of these we hear nothing more.

I have

I have obtained permission to return to Britain upon the recruiting service, and have taken my passage in a French ship from Pondicherry; that mode of conveyance being by much the most economical; and, to tell you the truth, upon comparing the present state of my finances with that at my landing in India, I find myself upwards of two hundred pounds a loser by the war. This, it must be confessed, is no very flattering encouragement for a military man to seek his fortune in the East.

My next letter will probably be dated from the Isle of France; where the ship, in which I embark, means to touch for water and refreshments. Thank Heaven I shall in a few days quit, I hope never to return to them, the most disagreeable of all services, and most uncomfortable of climates. It is impossible to paint the pleasing ideas that arise in my bosom at the prospect of so speedily revisiting my native country; in which I hope to repair the shock which even a short residence in this climate invariably gives to the constitution of an European.

Adieu.



## LETTER XVIII.

Isle of France, August, 1784.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is hardly possible for me to express the degree of happiness which I now enjoy in finding myself thus far advanced upon my voyage homewards. I see few other advantages, that a native of Great Britain can derive from visiting foreign countries, than a tendency, which an intimate knowledge of them imparts, to strengthen and render permanent that *amor patriæ*, implanted by the hand of Nature in the human breast. My constitution never accorded with the enervating climate of India. Its insufferable heat seemed even to persecute me to the very last moment of my residence in that country; for I had no sooner reached Pondicherry, on my voyage homewards by the way of France, than I was seized with a violent bilious fever and return of a liver-complaint; which, in the space of eight days, reduced me so low that I was scarcely able to walk; but, through the humane attentions which I received from two gentlemen (Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, of the  
seventy-

seventy-third regiment, and Mr. Robert Barclay, a worthy and benevolent counsellor, who was sent, at this period, to Pondicherry to deliver it and other places up to the French, and to settle some disputes which had arisen about the disposal of Trinquammallee), I so far recovered as to be able to embark on board of the St. Charles, of six hundred tons burthen, bound for the Isle of France and Marfeilles. A tolerable cabin was allotted to me in this ship of about six feet square; for which I have agreed to pay one hundred and twenty pounds sterling, which is eighty pounds less than what the captains of British East Indiamen usually demand for a home passage.—The crew is chiefly composed of Italians from Leghorn; some of whom speak a few words of English. Several French officers also took a passage on board of the vessel to the Isle of France; for which I have since learnt they paid but a trifling compensation, and at the same time were treated with the utmost attention and respect. I mean not to tire your patience by a minute detail of our voyage from Pondicherry to this place. Suffice it to observe, that harmony and good humour reigned in our ship; and, though the entertainment cannot be compared with that given on board of an English East Indiaman, yet the pleasant manners and sprightly conversation of the French gentlemen rendered the voyage extremely agreeable. An evening seldom passed without our being entertained by the seamen with some burlesque farce or humourous songs. I observed (and indeed I am told it is customary

customary amongst the Italian and French seamen) that the crew paid the greatest deference to the boatswain, and that they had selected one man out of their number, the most noted for wit and buffoonery, to be the leading performer in their amusements. Sometimes they would act puppet-shows; at other times laughable farces and country dances; and, by way of variety, a whistling concert of first, second, and third, was sometimes admirably performed. These men were at the same time expert and careful seamen. But what is most of all to be admired in those people is their extreme sobriety. Not a symptom of intoxication appeared during the whole voyage, and the utmost harmony uniformly reigned.—Were I to chuse a crew, with whom I was to perform a long voyage, they should certainly be Leghornois and French, with a few steady English quarter-masters and petty-officers. I cannot say much, however, for the naval skill of the officers who had the charge of the ship. They have been appointed to their stations by interest, not from their experimental knowledge of their profession; consequently they know little of astronomy, of the nature of currents, or even of geography itself.—The master is considered as a prodigy, because he attempted occasionally to observe the sun's delineation with the azimuth compass. They seemed to trust entirely to their maps, the compass, and the log-book, for their safety; and it cost them a whole day to look out for the island of Roderique, situated to the eastward of Mauritius; whereas,

in

in going to India, the officers of the English East Indiamen told us the very hour upon which the flag-staff of Fort St. George would heave in sight.

I was the only valetudinarian on board; but the sea air, together with the dread of coming under the hands of our *Italian Esculapius* (who is a perfect original in his way) greatly tended to recruit my health and spirits.

Our vessel approached the Isle of France upon the south-east quarter of it; so that, before we reached Port Louis, I had the satisfaction of coasting round more than one half of the island; and I was induced to take particular notice of the different bays as we passed along, and to form some conjecture of the defence which this important place seems capable of making. In this settlement the French have judiciously fixed their chief seat of Oriental government, as it answers in every respect to them what Batavia does to the Dutch.—The Mauritius is situated in about the 20th degree of south latitude, and 56th east longitude, from London. It seems much about the shape, and something larger in point of size, than the Isle of Wight. The centre of this island is formed of prodigiously rocky mountains, which on every side diminish, in a manner strikingly picturesque, as they advance towards the sea, leaving between them vallies of some extent; which, with the



leffer hills, are well watered and covered with wood. Perpetual moisture hangs upon the summit of these mountains; which renders the verdure upon most of them, and particularly that of the vallies, most beautifully luxuriant. The north-east quarter, being by much the most champaign, seems to be well inhabited. Here the genteel inhabitants of Port Louis have their country-houses. Their cattle are chiefly fed upon the east side, the pasture and water being both better and more plentiful than in any other quarter.

Our ship, though failing briskly right before the wind, was twelve hours on her passage from the island of Roderique to the bay of Port Louis. Several small rocky islands run about north and by west from Roderique obliquely along the east coast of Mauritius at the distance of about two, three, five, and seven leagues from the main land; amongst which the whales were so numerous and playful that I frequently thought, as we steered our course through the channel, some of them would have jumped upon the deck.

The Isle of France does not by any means appear to be so impregnable a place as it has been generally represented. The shore, in most parts, is bold and rocky; but there are many convenient landing places upon the coast where the water is deep enough to admit of frigates coming sufficiently near it to cover a descent,

descent, notwithstanding that these are defended by heavy batteries. The vessel in which I was, of six hundred tons burthen, steered close enough to the shore to have made a good use of her artillery; though it is commonly reported that a reef of rocks encircles the whole coast at cannon-shot distance; which I believe is more formidable in name than in reality.

Port Louis is at present the metropolis of this island; though, when the Dutch first took possession of it, a place now called the *Great Port*, on the south-east quarter, was reckoned the capital. Port Louis is situated in the recess of a triangular bay, the base or entrance of which may be about two leagues and a half over; and from thence to the most interior creek (where there is a good dock, and a harbour capable of containing two hundred vessels) is full six miles; presenting, as report says, a very difficult navigation. The French make a sham of sending a pilot to conduct ships of burthen through the channel for the last two miles, betwixt two rows of *white flags* artfully placed as if in the only practicable channel; but I have seen ships, of a good size, pass straight in and out at pleasure; and the wind blows frequently from all directions.

The town is spacious, and the houses, built chiefly of wood, form one continued street full a mile and a half in length. It has more the resemblance of an European city than any that I have

D d d

seen

seen on this side of the Cape, both from the bustle of commerce and the genteel appearance of the inhabitants. The fair sex are numerous here, and are said to possess all the gallantry of their mother country, being all remarkably handsome in their persons, and engaging in their manners. I met with great politeness from them, and in a particular manner from the Governor, who indulged me with the privilege of walking where I pleased.

I think it matter of serious regret, that government did not think of directing their first efforts of the last war in the East against this island. A stroke well levelled at the root of the tree would have occasioned the fall of its dependencies; a mode the most certain and expeditious for subduing the French power in this quarter of the globe. Had this measure been adopted, the British might not only with ease have crushed Hyder Ally, but given a good account of the Dutch and Spanish settlements in the East-Indies.

The principal inhabitants of this place ridicule our nation prodigiously for not having, in the beginning of the war, directed Sir Edward Hughes's squadron to attack this place upon its way to Madras. One of the most respectable gentlemen of this town really assured me that they were then so much in dread of that event, and the island was at that time in such a wretched state of defence, that articles of capitulation had been thought of from the  
anticipation

anticipation of such an attempt. Both the Isles of France and Bourbon must have undoubtedly fallen into our hands, for at that period hardly any works of defence had been erected, nor were there above five hundred European regulars in both islands. The French, however, will, I apprehend, take care for the future that they shall not be caught in such an impotent state.

With all deference to the projectors of Commodore Johnston's abortive expedition, it may not improperly be observed, that, had the attack of the Isle of France been its object, it might have even then been subdued by a prudent and well-conducted attack; and would have proved a greater source of glory to those engaged in it, and to the nation at large, than even the battle of *Porto Praya*, or the taking of the Cape of Good-Hope. It may perhaps be deemed presumption in me to offer an opinion upon a subject of such importance; but, as I write in the full confidence of friendship, and after having bestowed some attention upon the matter, I trust that my observations may not prove altogether unsatisfactory. I am now so thoroughly convinced that it will be in vain for us ever to think of subduing the French power in India, without first reducing the Isles of France and Bourbon, that, when another war takes place between the two rival nations, I would humbly and strenuously recommend it to the government of Great-Britain, to lose no time in making a vigorous attack upon this place, as the most



effectual and speedy method of accomplishing so great an end. Such an expedition might perhaps be attended with some loss, but not near so much as a procrastinated, and perhaps unsuccessful, war might occasion.

It would be no difficult matter for a few ships of war and frigates, stationed betwixt the Isles of France and Bourbon and Madagascar, with two cruizers posted to the south-east, and two more to the south-west or windward side of the island, to reduce Port Louis in a short time by famine. The troops sent against it ought to be Europeans and sepoys from Madras, or Europeans fresh from England. I conceive that four thousand Europeans alone, or two thousand Europeans and four thousand sepoys, with a proper proportion of ships of war, would be necessary to effect this business completely. It would be proper, likewise, in an enterprize of this nature, to diffuse through the island a report that all the slaves, but particularly the *Maron*, or runaway negroes, who should join the British standard, should be completely emancipated, and have small portions of land assigned them for cultivation; and that those who should be found in arms against us at the conquest of the island, either African or Malabar of the black casts, should be delivered up as slaves to those who should favour us; for the space of seven years only, however, when slavery should cease. Blacks from Madagascar and Africa might be invited over, not shamefully trepanned,

trepanned, to settle here, which would in a short time render labour cheap enough, without unfeelingly reducing the human species to the level of brutes.

As the works are very open and extensive upon both extremities of the town of Port Louis, the enemy's force might be greatly divided by landing an equal number of troops upon each side of the port; which, however, ought to be very attentive to act in concert by judicious signals, either in the night or day, when an attack is meditated by the enemy, or any movement to be made. In the mean time two ships of war, with several small craft constructed as fire ships, stationed in the mouth of the harbour, might be ready, whenever the enemy should threaten a serious attack, to draw nigh and fire random red hot shot into the town; or, if the wind should happen to blow hard at any time from the north-west, to let a fireship adrift among them; in which vessel a sort of wooden mortars \* might be so constructed, charged with shells, as that, when the fire should communicate to the deck, they should set off the shells with a short fuse into the town. A first rate man of war can anchor within one hundred yards of the small island,

\* During the siege of Vandewash, Captain Flint, who so nobly defended that garrison, made *wooden mortars* with iron hoops round them, which answered his purpose extremely well. That excellent officer also contrived *hand-grenades*, made of dried *potter's earth*, which he filled and threw with great effect into the enemy's works.

situated

situated on the east side of the harbour, named *L'Isle de Tonneliers*. Upon the east flank of the town, and also not far from the western extremity, run fordable rivers, the first called *Latanier*, and the other *Little River*, near to Fort-blanc. Many rapid rivers of this kind descend in every direction from the mountains, and where these disembogue themselves into the sea are the most likely places in which to effect a passage over the reef of rocks that are said to guard the coast; and, when once boats get within those barriers, the water becomes perfectly smooth in many places to the very beach. In the river *Citroniers*, on the south west extremity of the island, I am told that ships of two hundred tons are built. At *Post Jacotet*, near to this river, an arm of the sea runs up into the land, and forms a spacious basin, where small vessels could reach the shore in the most perfect security. Here I should propose to make the first descent with two hundred Europeans and six hundred sepoy, without artillery; it being the most retired corner of the island, and the most likely place to be joined in by the *Maron* negroes, who live chiefly in that neighbourhood. The end of April would be the most proper season, when the monsoon weather ceases, when the winds become variable, and the winter stores of the inhabitants are completely exhausted. The detachment thus landed should have orders, as soon as they should be reinforced by the *Maron* negroes, or people upon whose intelligence they might depend, to form two equal divisions, and proceed towards

towards Port Louis upon each side of the coast, as the interior parts are perfectly inaccessible, in order to sweep away all the cattle that should be found in the vallies, whilst the rest of the troops and ships should also be formed into two divisions, and run down before the wind on each side of the island, and with all expedition effect a landing upon each extremity of the town as before proposed. By this means the enemy's force would be greatly divided, and their forage completely cut off, which, it is reasonable to suppose, would soon reduce the town to a capitulation. At any rate, if the island could not be effectually subdued, very great damage might be done to the French in that quarter, even by a fleet that should have orders to attack Mauritius upon its passage to India.

So much for a project that at present may appear chimerical, but which perhaps in the course of a succeeding war may attract some notice, and lay the foundation for an important acquisition to the British crown \*.

\* The view of Port Louis, which is attached to this letter, I began to delineate immediately as our vessel entered that harbour, but being soon taken notice of by the pilot, who raised a *hue-and-cry* against me, and threatened to carry me before the governor about it, I was forced for the time being to desist, and was glad to shut the pilot's mouth by the *peace-offering* of a few dollars, which perhaps saved me from ignoble durance; but as our ship sailed out of the harbour upon her departure, I took the opportunity of completing my sketch from the stern windows of my cabin.



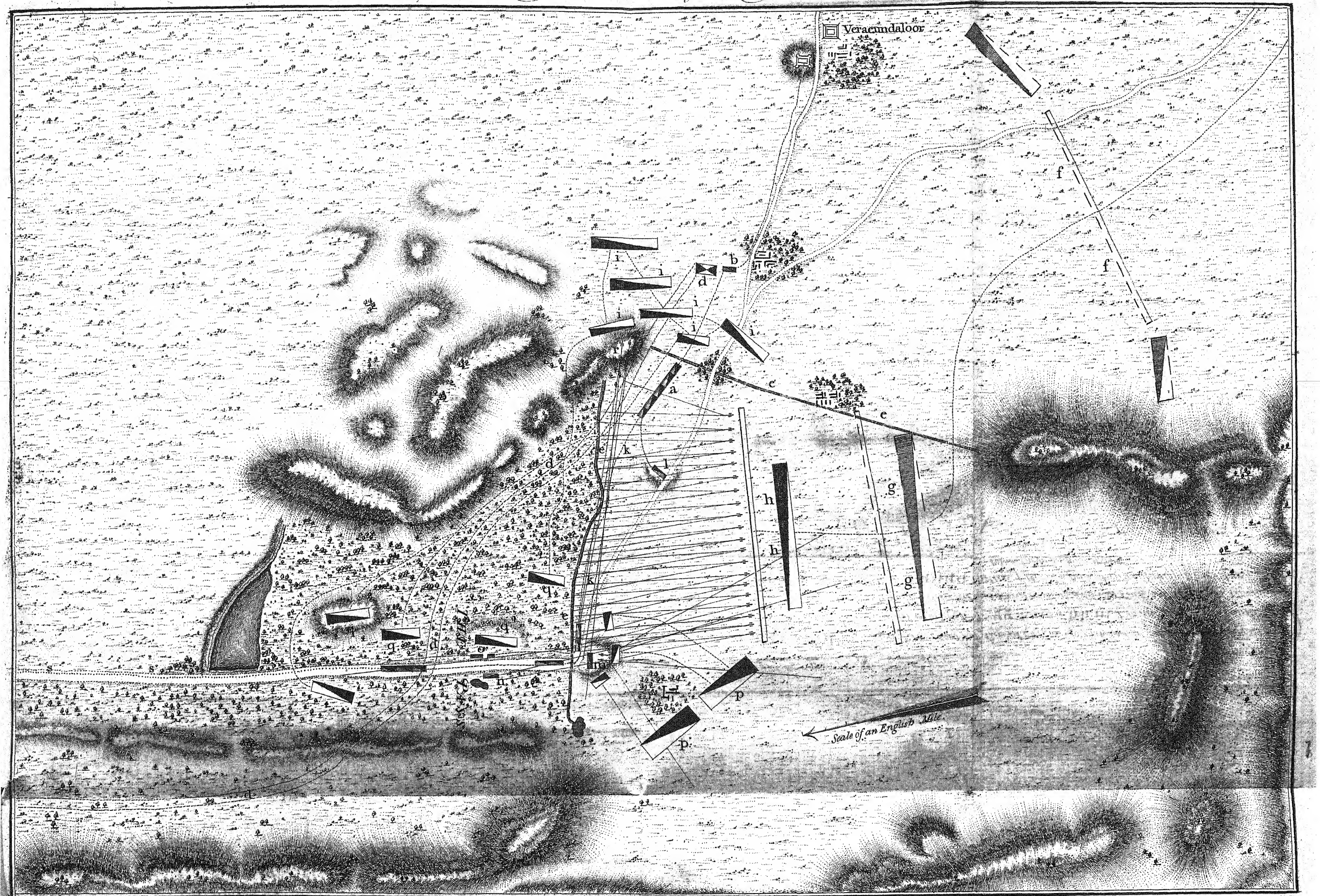
As the remainder of our voyage will in all probability prove very tedious, I purpose employing my leisure hours on board the ship in drawing out, for my own satisfaction, an enumeration of those obstacles which seemed to me to have chiefly impeded the success of the British arms in the late Carnatic war against Hyder Ally; and, as far as my observation and experience can dictate, to suggest hints for a remedy of those evils in the event of a future war; which plans I shall hereafter take an opportunity of submitting to the perusal of those whom they may principally concern.

My epistolary correspondence with you on the very diffuse subject of Indian affairs now draws to a conclusion. Our stay here has been about three weeks, and we proceed for Europe in a very few days, when I hope to bid a final adieu to the Eastern world; and in a reasonable space of time to enjoy the inexpressible satisfaction of social converse with you and my other friends once more in my native land.

T H E E N D.



Position of the Detachment under Lieu.<sup>t</sup> Col.<sup>l</sup> Owen when attacked by the Nabob Hyder Ally's whole force at the pass of Veracundaloor on 23 of October 1781



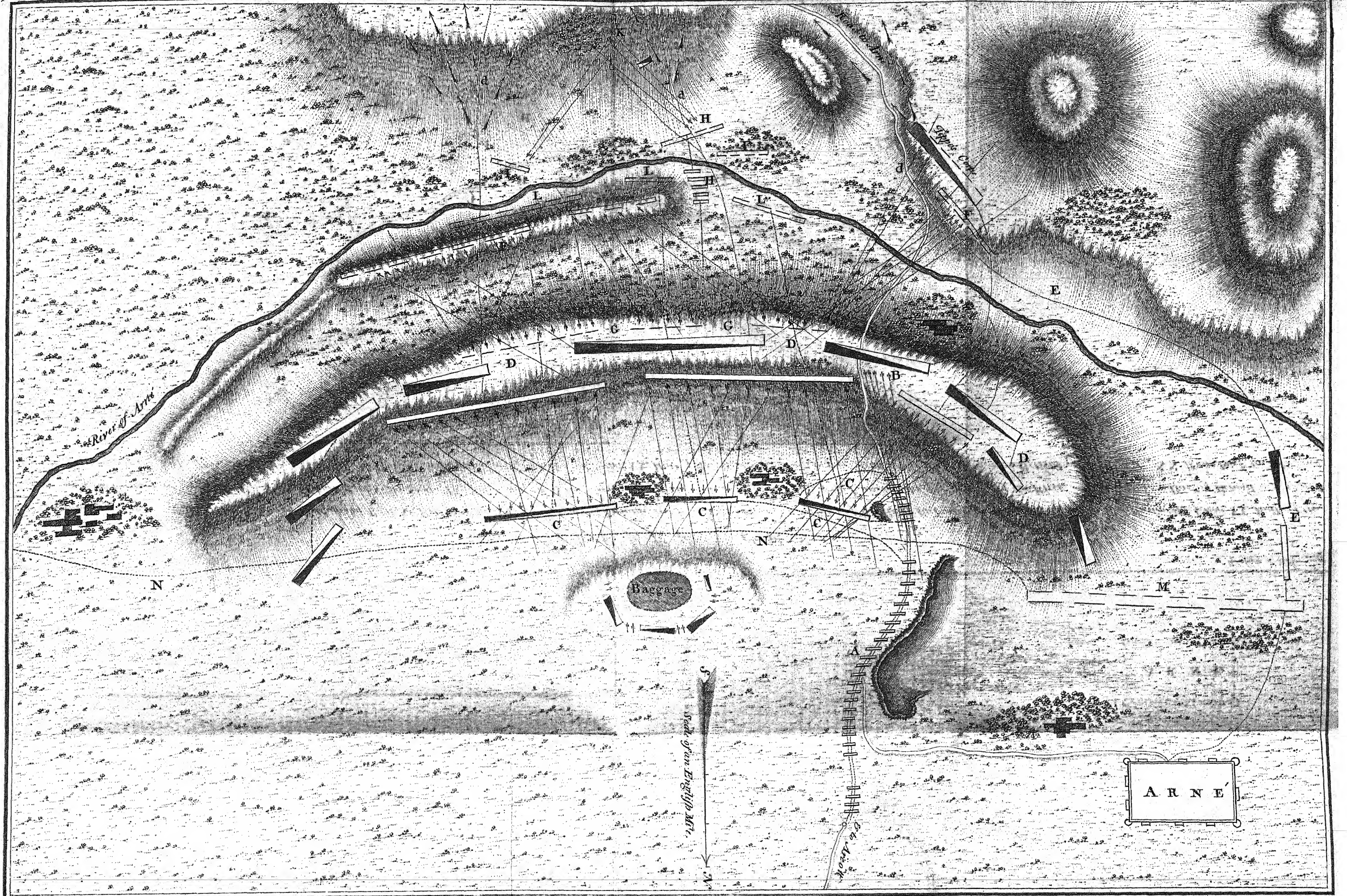
Trans. Muro Del. Woodman & Milow Sculp.

## REFERENCES.

Encampment of the Detachment. b. a Picket from whence one Company was advanced to the little Fort on a Rock. c. d d d. Post and Retreat of our Cavalry, being ordered to retire early as they were too far to be of any service. e e e e. Old walls of loose stones broken down in many places. f f. first appearance of the Enemy, from whence they advanced rapidly, first to g g. & then to h h. i i i. Enemy's Cavalry advancing to attack the Baggage. k k. our march towards the pass. l. Batal<sup>n</sup> formed to cover the Rear. m. a Bat<sup>n</sup> & Guns posted to defend the pass. n. the same Bat<sup>n</sup> retiring in disorder and forced to abandon one Gun. o. European Grenad<sup>r</sup>s. p. 21 Bat<sup>n</sup> Sepoys going back to retake the Gun. p p. large bodies of Horse from which considerable detachments were made to charge our line and impede the Retreat. q q q q. Parties of Horse who had entered the pass by different routes and attacked us briskly on all quarters. r. Two Guns of the Enemy's that enfiladed the line of march. s. Gen<sup>l</sup> Coates' route to their assistance.



BATTLE OF ARNE.
Gained by 10,000 British Troops under Lt. Genl. Sir Eyre Coote, over 120,000 Misourians under the Nabob Hyder Ally-Cawn, on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1782



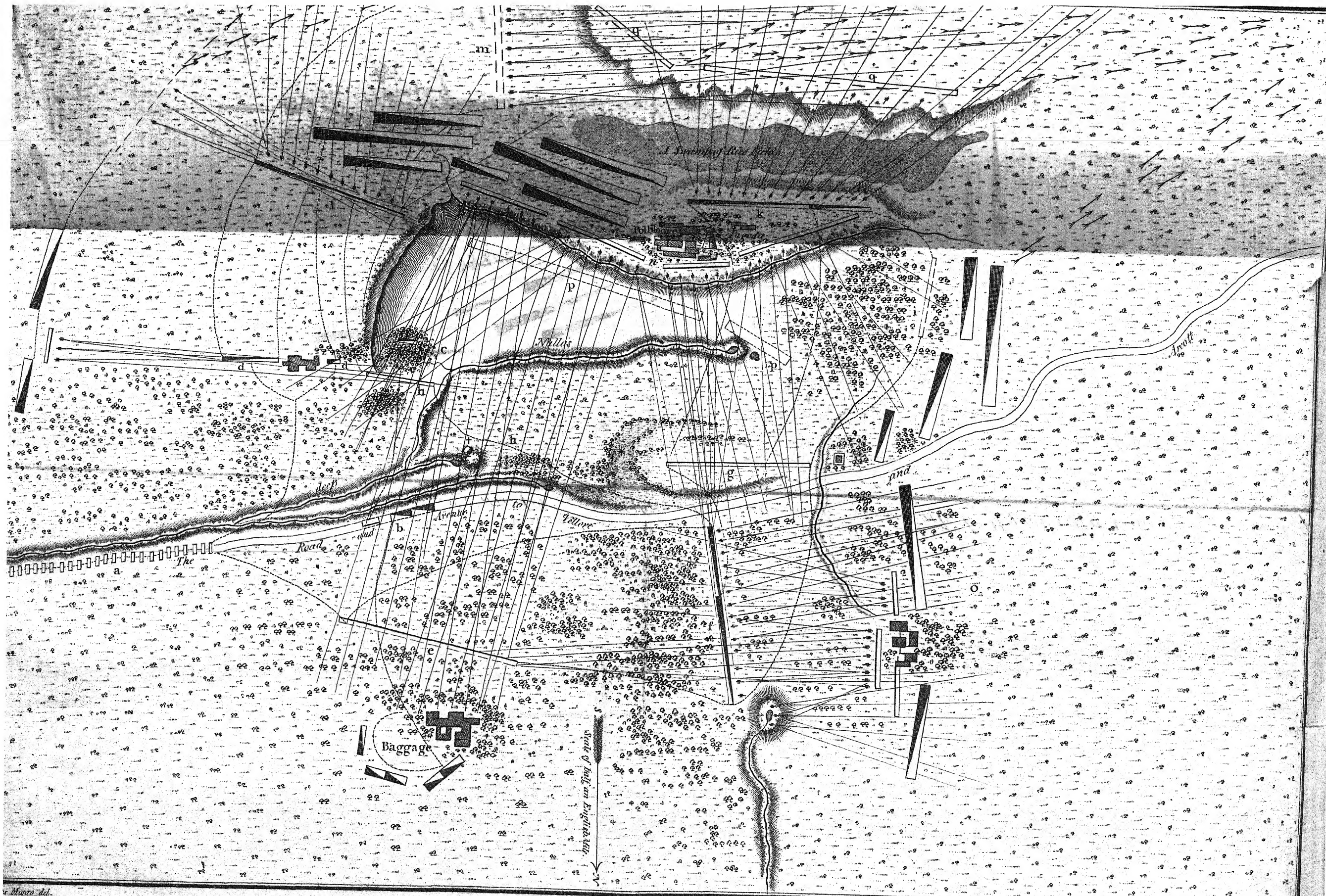
James Munro del.
Woodman & Mutton sculp.

### REFERENCES.

A. The British Army upon its March, B. First Guns opened upon our Rear; C. Retrograde motion of the Army in forming the Line, D. Advance and Order of Battle of the Enemy, E. Succour thrown into Arne during the Action, F. Rally of the Enemy, to renew the Cannonade upon the British Line halted at G, until the Baggage came up, H. the Grenad.<sup>r</sup> & 73<sup>d</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup> in rapid pursuit of the Enemy, take 7 Tumbrils in the River, at same time a Bat<sup>n</sup> of Bengal Sepoys at I, fires a Gun in the River, both afterwards Cannonading the Battal<sup>n</sup> at K, which had abandoned them, LL. Halt of the Army, M. Camp before Arne after the Battle, N. Retreat of the Enemy, NN. Rout back to Madras.

Published as the Act directs March 31<sup>st</sup> 1783.



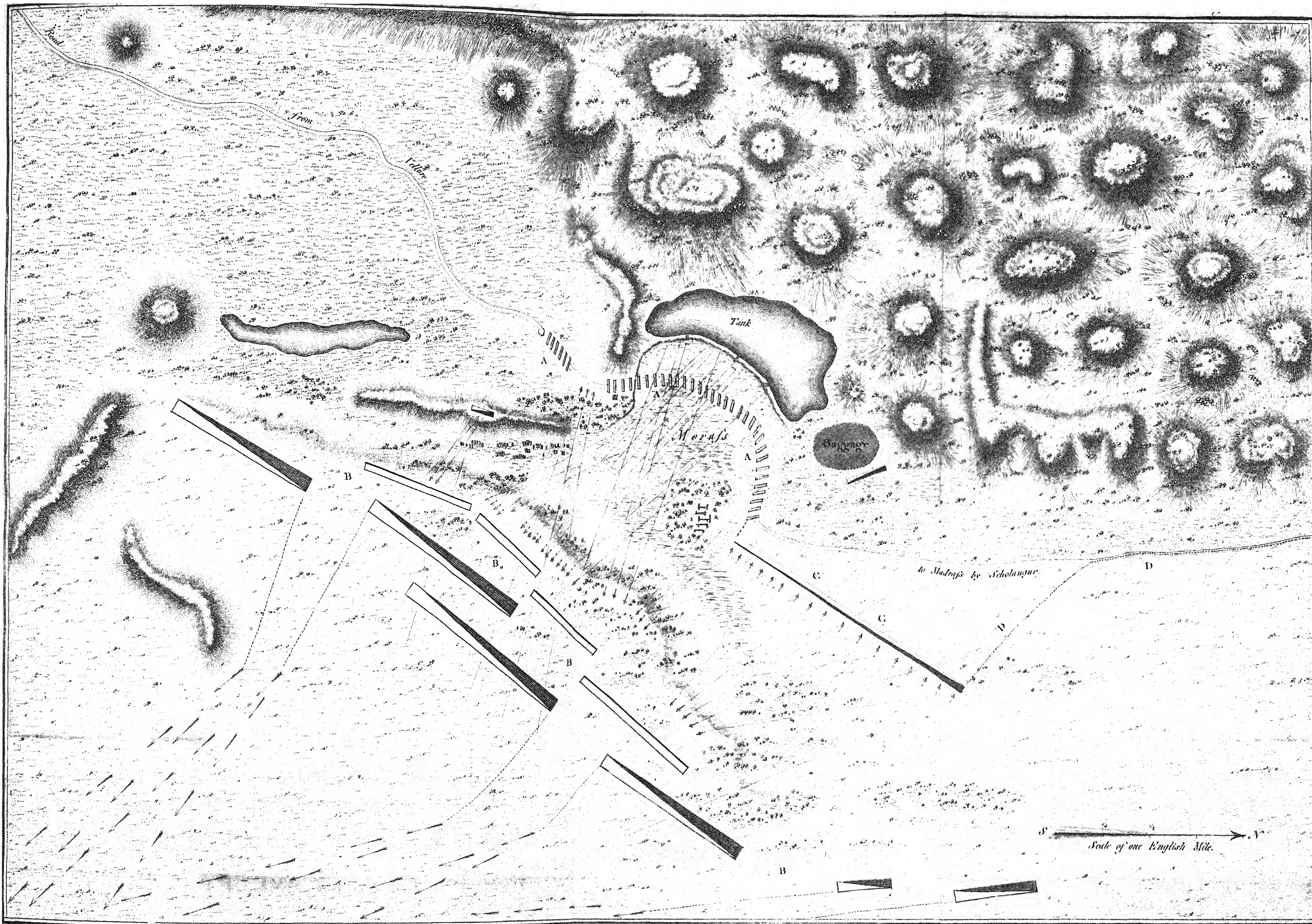


## REFERENCES.

English Army upon their March in the morning. b Advanced Guard fired upon, take possession of the Grove c, d Col! Pierces first position. e, f, & g, Gen! Munros three successive positions, with the Right Wing. h, E.C. Owens March to the Village of Polliloor. k, Right Wing advances beyond the Village, joined by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade, to Cannonade the Fugitives at q. q. 1, Col! Pierces first advance. m, Col! Pierce in pursuit of the Hyder's Station & Command during the Action. o, Tippus Corps. — Retreat of the Enemy. p, the English Camp that night. \* Place where Col! Baillie was defeated. + Tree where Sir P. C. was killed. The English Army.

Woodman & Mutton sculp.





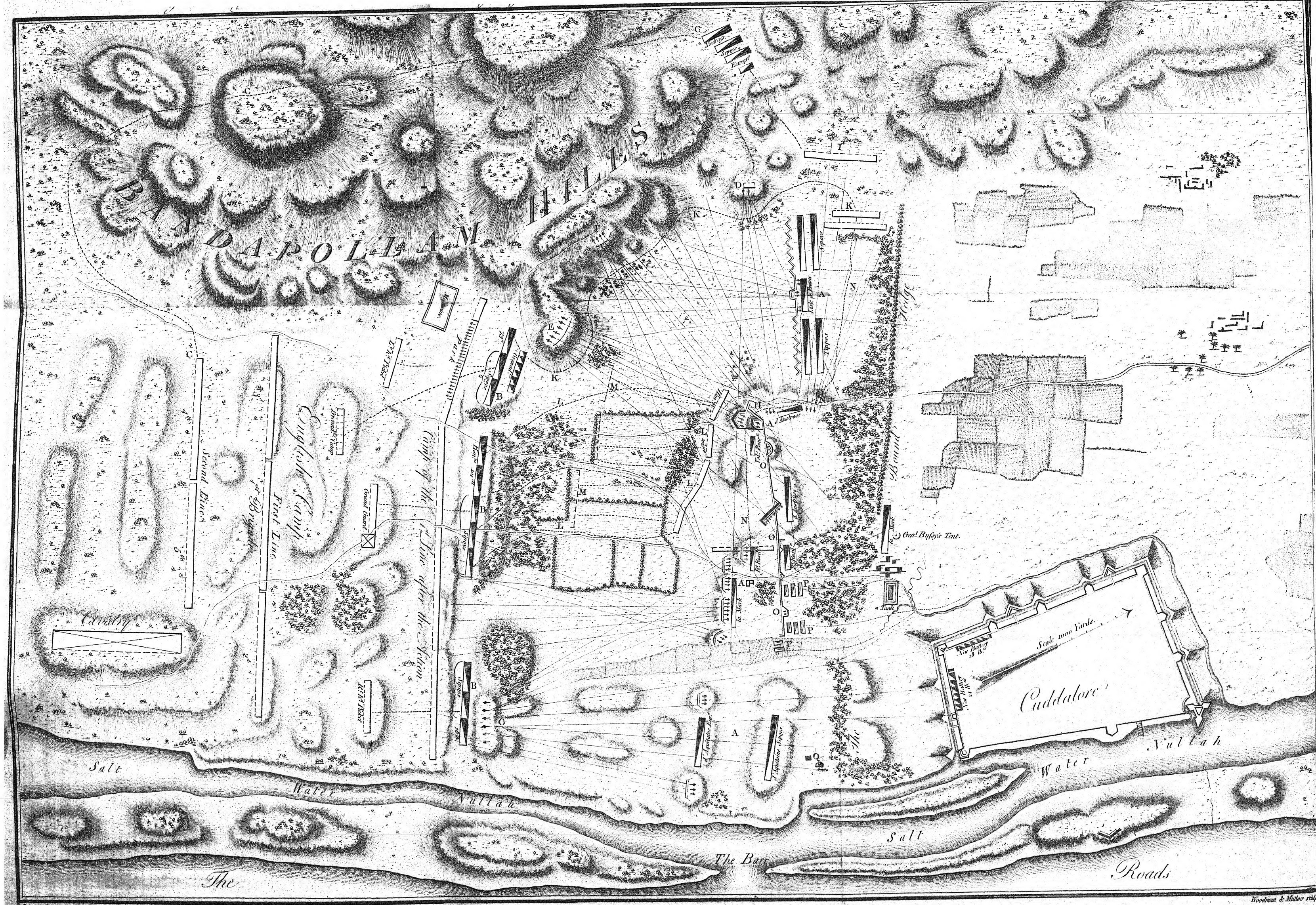
Jones Munro del.

Woodman & Maiton sculp.

## REFERENCES.

AAA. Entangled position of the British Troops upon their March when first attack'd in the Maraja. BBBB. Position of the Enemy's Line & Guns. CC. The British form'd in Order of Battle, after crossing the Maraja. — Retreat of the Enemy. DD. The British





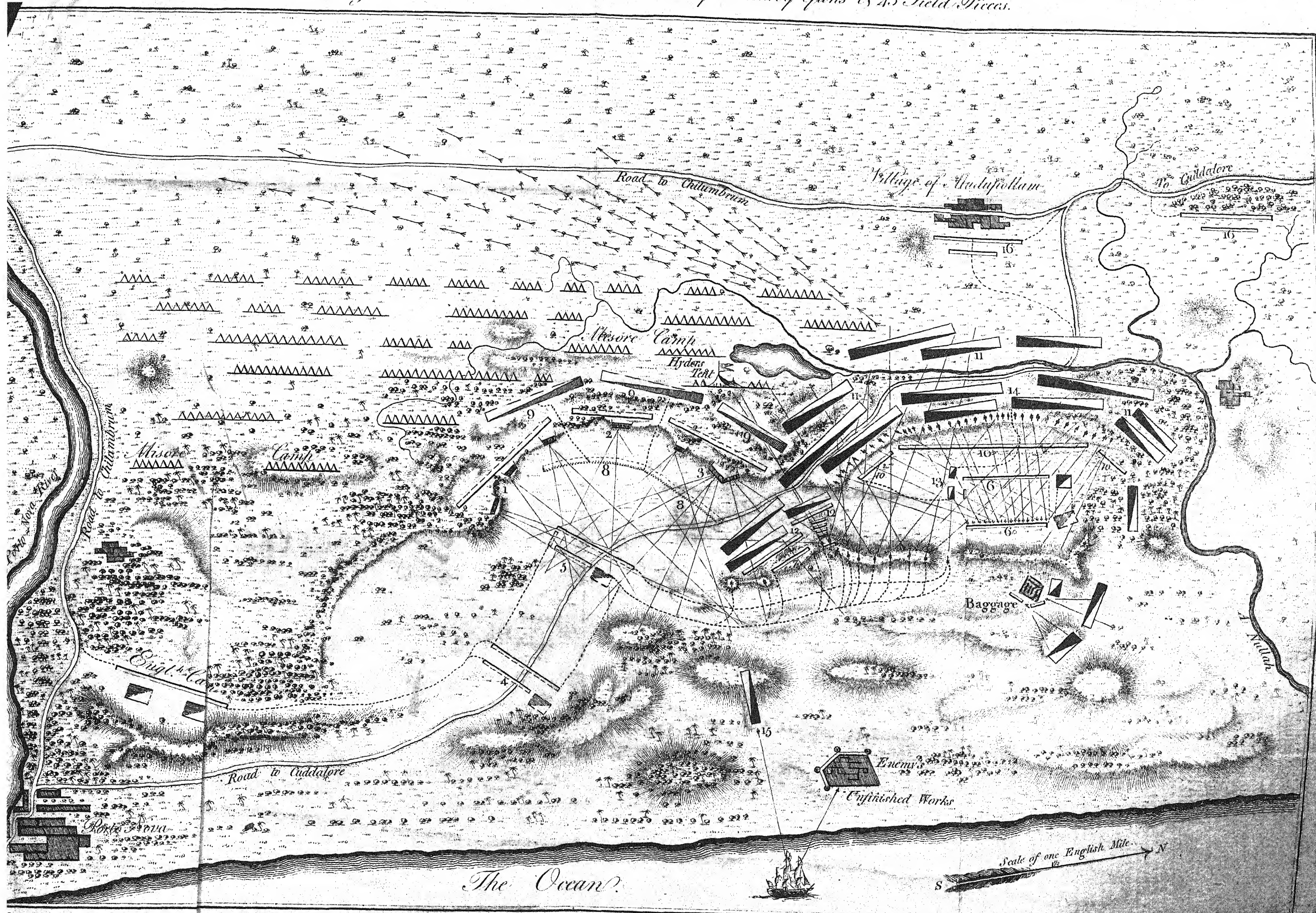
# R E F E R E N C E S .

AAAA The French lines & position of their Troops before the Attack. BBB Disposition of the British Troops the Night before the Attack of the Enemy's lines. CCC Rout of Col. Kelly over the hills, early in the Morning of the 13<sup>th</sup>, & his Attack of the French Battery D, upon a Hill. E, Col. Elliot's Battery of 6 18 lb. F, Major Mackay's Battery of 4 12 lb. G, Cap. Montague's Battery of 6 18 lb. H, The large French Redoubt, to which the 101<sup>st</sup> & Hanoverians advanced. I, Position of Kelly's Brigade after dispersing Tipu's Troops. K, Rout & first position of the Grenadiers & 73<sup>rd</sup> Reg. L, Advance of the Center Division under Col. Elphinstone. M, Rally of the Center Divis<sup>n</sup> after they retreated. N, Fract. & Advance of the Grenadiers & Highlanders supported by the Squires, & Kelly's Brigade. O, First Parallel of the British. P, Sally by the Enemy on the 25<sup>th</sup>.



# BATTLE of PORTO NOVA

by 8,000 British Troops under Lt. Genl Sir Eyre Coote over 100,000 Misorians under the Nalob Hyder Ally Cann the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1781.  
The English had 60 Field Pieces The Enemy 35 heavy Guns & 45 Field Pieces.



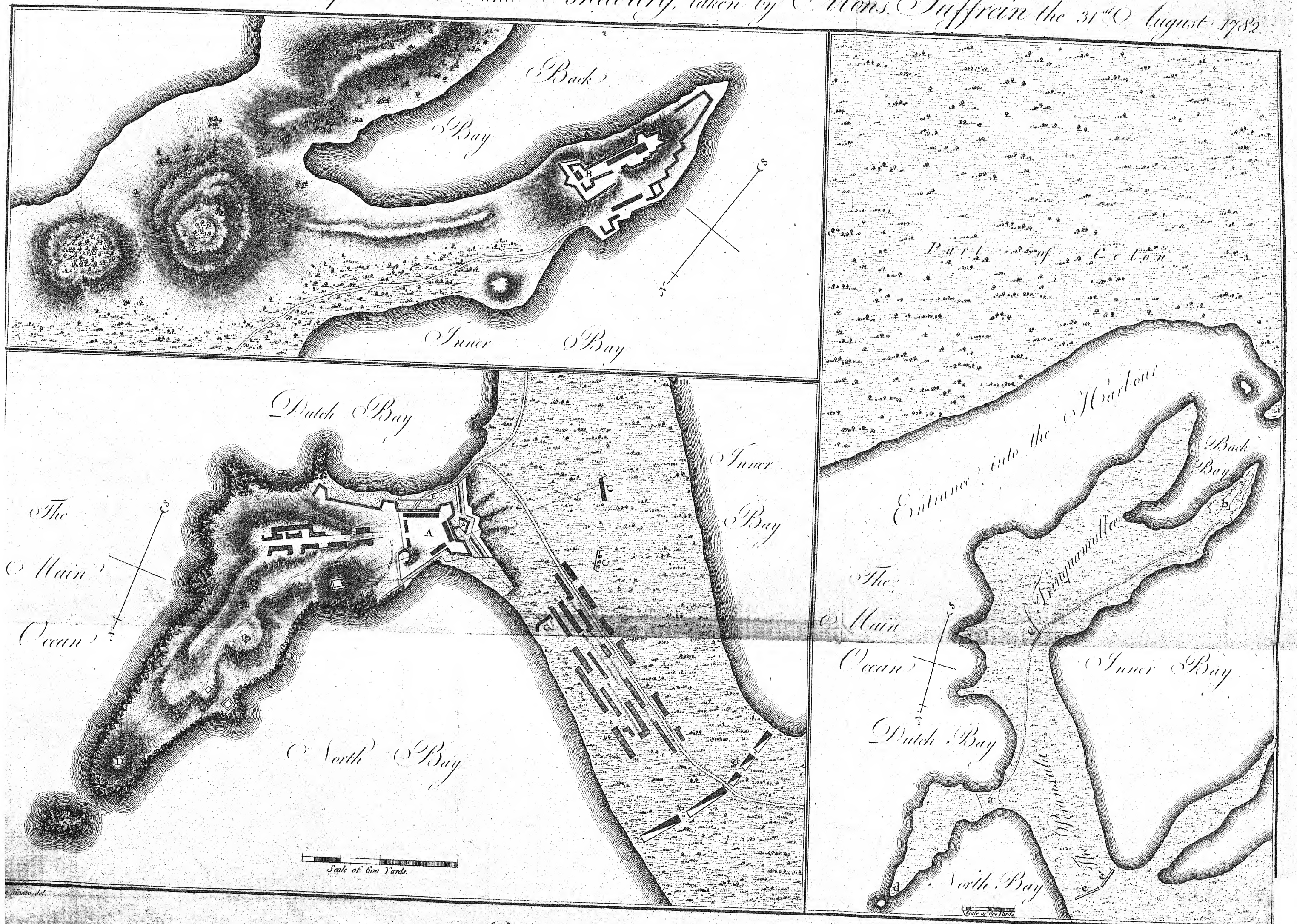
## REFERENCES

1, 2, 3. The Enemy's Masqued Batteries, placed to oppose our March to Cuddalore. 4, 5. 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> positions of the English advancing. 6. 1<sup>st</sup> English Line during the Cannonade. 7. 2<sup>nd</sup> English Line during the Cannonade. 8. A Chain of Hyr irregular horse posted as a decoy to the Masqued Batteries. 9. 1<sup>st</sup> Position of the Misorians. 10. 2<sup>nd</sup> Position of Hyders Infantry, over whom his Guns fired from the sand banks. 11. Position of Hyders Horse during the Cannonade. 12. Attempt by Hyders Grenadiers to gain the Hill. 13. Attempt by Kiram Sahib to Charge our Line where he & most of his party were killed. 14. Hyders's position during the Action. 15. An Armed Ship firing upon the Enemy. 16. English Camp after the Battle.

Published as the Act directs. March 31<sup>st</sup> 1789.



*Plan of the Forts Trinquemallee and Osnaburg, taken by Mons. Suffrein the 31<sup>st</sup> August 1782.*



**REFERENCES.**

a. Fort Trinquemallee. B. b. Fort Osnaburg. CCC. 2 Batteries of Guns & 1 of Mortars. D. d. Signal Flag. EE. ee. Position of the Enemy when they Landed. 1. 2. 3. 4. works done since the Fort was taken by the French.  
NB This Harbour is 500 Towers over in the narrowest part of the Entrance & reckoned one of the best Asylums for Shipping in all Asia.  
The French Landed 2000 Men.



Books must be returned within one month of date of issue. Per Regd. Post.

[illegible]

OLD COLLECTION

Not to be taken out

13455-

